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ABSTRACT

This review focuses on what the literature can tell about the appropriate content and conduct of a job search training program. The chapters correspond to the four bodies of literature concerning job searches that were reviewed. The chapter on the theoretical literature of the scholarly journals examines the basic model of job search, trade-off between leisure and wage, unemployment insurance, the link to macroeconomic theory, current model limitations, and models and public policy. The review of the empirical literature addressed to the testing of various theoretical hypotheses considers job searching methods, method efficiency, searching intensity, differences by subpopulations, recruitment and selection studies, interview preparation, and job searching assistance. The chapter dealing with the commercial literature of the private professional teachers of techniques of self-directed job search focuses on the authors, the addressee, perceptions of the fundamental problem, the goal, the assumptions about the job market, and the strategies. Chapter IV analyzes the program literature used in job searching workshops. The type of information and the presentation are discussed. Each chapter concludes with a discussion of lessons for job search training programs. A 300-item annotated bibliography is attached. (YLB)

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JOB SEARCH:

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

by
Stephen L. Mangum

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JOB SEARCH:
A Review of the Literature

INTRODUCTION

Job search training--teaching clients how to more successfully seek and find their own jobs--rose like a meteor among the popular components of employment and training programs at the close of the 1970s. Since some of its principals had been among the pioneers in job search training, the Olympus Research Centers proposed to the U.S. Department of Labor a "state of the art" study to describe and analyze what was happening in this rapidly growing field. As an accompaniment to intensive observation at 30 training sites, it seemed wise to survey the relevant literature to find out:

1. What insights research literature could provide as to the processes of job search and the relevant effectiveness of various approaches
2. What description of various types of job search assistance could be found
3. What was being taught in the various public and private programs of job search assistance which might be described in the literature
4. How consistent the forms of job search instruction and assistance provided were with research results concerning effective job search processes
5. The degree to which job search assistance and instruction accorded with the realities of the labor market.

The job search literature turned out to be a vast one and selectiveness had to be exercised, guided by the purposes to which the literature review was to be put. The guiding query for this review, undertaken in 1980, was "What can the literature tell us about the appropriate content and conduct of a job search training program?" For sake of focus, this review concentrated on literature which could help to answer seven questions:

1. How do job seekers search for work?
2. How do employers recruit workers?
3. How effective are the alternative methods?
4. What intermediaries are available to assist workers and employers?
5. How effective are those intermediaries?

6. Can more effective techniques of job search be designed?
7. How can the most effective combination of techniques of job search be most efficiently taught?

Four bodies of literature concerning job search are covered in this review:

1. The theoretical literature of the scholarly journals
2. The empirical literature addressed to the testing of various theoretical hypotheses
3. The commercial literature of the private professional teachers of techniques of self-directed job search.
4. The program literature used in job search workshops.

All of the literature in each of these broad source areas has been subjected to the same test: "What is there here which can be used to either provide substance to or test the relevance of the curriculum of a job search training program?"

Stephen L. Mangum
September 1, 1980

CHAPTER I

The Theoretical Research Literature

The theoretical research literature has relatively little to offer as a guide to teaching job search skills. Much of the research has been formulated as a test of the predictiveness of the neoclassical assumptions about the extent of job search, not about the techniques used. The neoclassical emphasis in labor economics is dominated by wage determination while the job search issue is the conditions under which a job seeker will continue search or accept a job offer. All of this is usually analyzed under static conditions in pursuit of the general equilibrium which would be reached if the world would just stand still for it. Nevertheless, useful insights are available from this literature.

The neoclassical analysis typically begins with an assumption of perfect competition which includes perfect knowledge on the part of all participants in the market. In that setting, no job search would occur because every potential employee would have perfect knowledge of every available job. Job seekers would have a perfect knowledge of the extensive margin (all of the alternative jobs) and the intensive margin (all of the characteristics of each and every job). The job seeker has then only to decide whether and which job to accept.

Economic models are evaluated and judged according to how well they describe and predict real world phenomena. The real world is one characterized by uncertainty and imperfect information. Relatively recent advances within the economics profession which develop the theory of imperfect information are attempts to mold economic analysis to reality. Search theory can be viewed as an essential ingredient of any economic model of individual behavior under uncertainty. Job search theory has emerged in pursuit of a useful generalization which can be made about decisionmaking in that setting.

The Basic Model

George Stigler is the preeminent name in the economics of information in market settings. In his seminal works of the early sixties [63,64], he recognized a deficiency in economic theory and introduced a methodology for analysis which has prompted the emergence of a great amount of research on the subject.

> One should hardly have to tell academicians that information is a valuable resource: knowledge is power. And yet it occupies a slum dwelling in the town of economics.[63]

The economics of information has been applied to both product and factor markets. Job search theory is the application of the theory of imperfect information to the labor market [58]. Though Stigler is credited with developing the salient points of job search theory, the impetus and need for such work was recognized long before [19]. In 1909 W. H. Beveridge recognized frictions in the labor exchange process as a cause of unemployment. As early as 1932 Pigou and Hicks spoke of unemployment as a period of search for employment and explained the economic rationale of quitting one employment to look for a better one. The works of Hutt in 1939 refer to the productivity of search.

Success in the labor exchange process involves the pairing of worker and job. This requires the mutual satisfaction of worker and employer and depends upon the characteristics of job and worker. In order for successful matches to occur, large amounts of information about job and worker are needed. To acquire the information necessary for making choices, employer and worker consume substantial resources and time in advertising, search, recruitment procedures, and so forth. Following the work of Stigler, Alchian suggested that unemployed workers may be engaged in a productive activity in a world where uncertainty prevails and information is costly. He viewed search to be the activity that renders these human resources productive [1]. Job search can be defined as a productive activity in which the worker invests his resources to produce job offers and information on wages and working conditions in those jobs [10].

The worker's decision is one of constrained optimization. In standard job search models the worker seeks to maximize his expected income [10, 33, 35]. Other models assume a searcher who seeks maximization of expected utility [3, 8, 13, 27, 37, 67]. The results of the two types of models are identical.

The job searcher seeks to maximize his expected income or utility subject to constraints imposed by the costs of search. These are pecuniary costs (such as travel costs, employment agency fees, etc.), as well as the opportunity costs of waiting for a job. The cost of remaining unemployed is the discounted present value of wages foregone plus pecuniary search costs [10]. The return to being unemployed is seen as unemployment compensation, welfare payments, and leisure [46]. Associated with loss of a job and acceptance of a new job are further costs such as the loss of investment accumulated in seniority and position in a former employment. The decision to accept employment also implies stopping search and therefore loss of the chance to obtain a better job in the future [33].

The job hunter is faced with two definite uncertainties: he/she doesn't know what job offers will be received or when they will be received. Many models view search as a sequential process evolving through time [25, 46, 52, 55, 57, 60. See 67, 60 for non-sequential search models.]. Households as suppliers of labor formulate subjective estimates of the money wage rate distribution over time; i.e., what their labor services will command in the marketplace [26, 46]. The crucial problem for the seeker is to formulate the asking wage (reservation or acceptance wage) at each point in time [25]. Once the reservation wage is determined the household accepts offers high relative to this critical value and rejects offers below this value. The best choice of the individual's reservation or acceptance wage is that which equates the value of time spent searching to the present value of the future benefits attributable to search [8, 47, 50, 53]. The worker must decide at each step whether incremental returns exceed incremental costs if he/she is to undertake the optimal amount of search activity [57]. To quote Stigler:

> A worker will search for wage offers (and an employer will search for wage demands) until the expected marginal return equals the marginal cost of search . . .The information a man possesses on the labor market is capital: it was produced at the cost of search [64].

Tradeoff Between Leisure and Wage

The establishment of an optimal strategy or decision rule permits analysis of the basic relationships among the variables impacting upon the rule. A basic hypothesis is that the acceptance or reservation wage will decline over the duration of unemployment. The hypothesis is drawn from the classical economic postulate of declining marginal utility of leisure. The wage offered must be sufficient to compensate the worker for the leisure foregone on the margin. As the amount of leisure expands, its marginal utility declines and a lower wage is sufficient to induce the worker to accept employment [34]. Most job search models predict a declining reservation wage [7, 8, 12, 13, 25, 38, 40, 42, 61, 67] and the rather sparse body of empirical work seems to support the supposition [34, 35, 36].

Likewise, jobseekers are shown to adjust their wage demands to the state of demand in the economy. As the unemployment rate rises, competition for available vacancies rises, thereby decreasing the probability of an offer at each firm, leading to a decrease in the optimal acceptance wage level [61]. In his initial works George Stigler stated that "the larger the cost of search, the less search will be undertaken by a worker at a given level of dispersion of employers' wage offers [64]." Expanding upon this foundation further research and models have found an inverse relationship between duration of unemployment and variables including the marginal cost of search, the expected wage rate, the discount rate, and the worker's valuation of money wages relative to leisure [10, 36, 47, 64].

Unemployment Insurance

A sizeable body of literature has emerged exploring the effects of unemployment insurance on the incentive to seek work. Involved here are two incentive effects: 1) the effect of unemployment benefits on the demand for leisure due to reduction of the price of leisure relative to income, and 2) the effect of unemployment insurance benefits on the willingness of the unemployed to search [10,52].

It should not be surprising that the unemployment insurance system affects the short run rate of unemployment since its stated purpose is to provide income maintenance over a short period to the unemployed [15, 16]. Viewing job search as a productive activity, unemployment insurance enables the worker to prolong his search until a job offer commensurate with his skill level is located [48]. Studies consistently agree that higher unemployment insurance benefit levels lower the alternative costs of search, increase unemployment duration, and cause a decline in the intensity of search [10, 12, 15, 16, 29, 48]. Debate continues over the desirability of this delay.

Mortensen takes mild exception to these findings and concludes that the effect of increased unemployment insurance benefits on unemployment consequent to extended search is theoretically ambiguous after accounting for such items as limited benefit periods. Mortensen's essential point is that workers who have not yet qualified for unemployment insurance build up capital by taking a job because doing so will later qualify them for unemployment insurance benefits. The net effect is to make them lower their reservation wage and accept a job more readily. Thus, the eligible workers who welcome unemployment are offset by those seeking employment to earn future access to unemployment benefits. Mortensen may extend himself a little far in concluding that the effect of unemployment insurance is to lessen measured unemployment compared to what it would be in the absence of the unemployment insurance system [52].

Critics of the system indict unemployment insurance for allowing workers to remain unemployed longer and for allowing substitution of job search for work [48]. Martin Feldstein, looking at the effects of the unemployment insurance subsidy (exclusion of UI benefits from taxable income) rather than the unemployment insurance benefit system itself has called it "a potentially important cause of the rising trend in unemployment and the apparent shift in the Phillips Curve [21]." The discussions and disagreement over replacement rates etc. continues and no great consensus has been reached.

The Link to Macroeconomic Theory

The major motivations behind job search theory have been 1) to understand and guide the microeconomic behavior of individuals in a world of imperfect information, and 2) to understand the microeconomic foundations of macroeconomic theory; particularly to derive and explore the Phillips relationship from the study of the underlying labor markets [11, 24, 42, 60, 61]. The justification for this second point "rests on the conviction that the labor market plays an important role in the inflation process . . . the steady drift of money wages probably arises primarily in the labor market and is transmitted recursively to prices through a markup process that determines the price level [30]." To understand the basic argument, Phelps [55] suggests visualizing the economy as a group of islands between which information flows are costly. Workers cannot know the wage on other islands without spending the day traveling to the island to sample its wage instead of spending the day at work. Suppose labor is homogeneous in production, producers are in pure competition in all markets and that a morning "auction" on each island determines the market clearing money wage and employment level for that island. We can use this island format as a simplification of the standard search model in which potential employees cannot observe the quoted price for their talents, nor the characteristics and location of available jobs. Individuals formulate search strategies and choose acceptance wages, balancing costs of continued search against expected return [24, 55].

Suppose aggregate product demand increases for some reason on one island, giving employers an incentive to raise their wages relative to the expectations of wage rates elsewhere. Job searchers now face a larger group of wage offers above the acceptance wage. Workers are gradually drawn out of the ranks of the unemployed as individuals respond to the unexpected changes in money wages. Maintenance of lower unemployment rates requires that wage rate increases stay ahead of adjustments in worker expectations (higher acceptance wage level) as they are revised upward. Here we see the emergence of the Phillips Curve tradeoff. The argument envisioned by Phelps is essentially that workers are fooled into accepting jobs due to perversions in the wage distribution. Increased product demand raises wages as well as all other prices. Individuals respond in the short run by accepting employment since a greater percentage of job offers are now above the workers predetermined acceptance wage. The longer run argument is that as the general price level begins to rise workers will recognize their folly and forces will be set in motion returning the economy to some natural rate of unemployment.

Job search theory has been suggested to explain the discouraged worker hypothesis as well. Viewing unemployment or total leisure to be an occupation--the null occupation, if unattractive opportunities and/or high information costs exist, the net return to search may be negative and the optimal search policy may be to choose not to search for employment. In such a view, lowering the cost of search will reduce the number of labor force dropouts [47].

Current Model Limitations

As explainers or predictors of reality, current job search models have a number of limitations [42, 65]. The standard job search model assumes a static wage distribution which is insensitive to the business cycle whereas the economy is in constant flux and the level of the flow is an important real determinant of search. Secondly, the model doesn't address the phenomenon of layoffs and is often misused in explaining the realities of quit behavior. In response to temporary demand changes, firms are more likely to adjust output via layoffs or overtime than they are to adjust wages. Likewise empirical evidence has shown that quit rates decrease in recessions whereas the standard job search model predicts wage declines and more quits in recession due to mistakes by workers in perceiving steady wages elsewhere.

Lippman and McCall and others [24, 67] identify the basic problem as being use of a static model to explain dynamic phenomena. The standard job search model doesn't know what layoffs and quits are and therefore cannot be used to predict such events. Furthermore, the Friedman-Phelps notion of a natural rate of unemployment, or the Lerner concept of the full employment level of unemployment, explicitly involve the concept of market equilibrium conditions. Such equilibrium conditions cannot be dealt with by the study of the optimal search behavior of a single agent due to the complexities of market equilibrium. In a labor market characterized by uncertainty, equilibrium is reached at a nonzero unemployment rate in contrast to the usual assumption of a no unemployment equilibrium. In some of these models, due to search costs and changing expectations, the workers never achieve an equilibrium, even though the dynamic system may do so [43, 50, 58].

Standard job search models assume that job quitters pass through a period of unemployment, an assertion not corroborated by the evidence. Several studies [20, 21, 49, 65] indicate that as much as 50 to 60 percent of all workers line up their new jobs before quitting and leaving their old jobs, though some authors have expressed disagreement with this figure [6]. Similarly, the evidence suggests that most unemployed accept the first job offer they receive. The sequential job search model can be expanded to explain this but does not explain why workers do not accept relatively unattractive jobs while continuing to look for a more attractive one [11, 204].

Many variants of the basic Stigler model have appeared to explain such phenomena as the role of risk aversion [38, 67], and to replace the early assumption of search without recall (i.e., that wage offers made in past periods that are not accepted are foregone) with the more realistic assumption of uncertain recall based on a probability measure [33, 39]. Models incorporating the assumption of recall show that the best offer received to date serves as a form of insurance against unsuccessful search and, in effect, raises the searcher's level of wealth to the point that he can prolong search, being more selective [27].

Models and Public Policy

Policy recommendations emerging from these models seem to center on the objective of lowering the duration of search [29, 47] as a means of increasing social welfare. A model developed by David Whipple [67] includes variables other than income and duration of search which impact on the worker's expected utility. Through inclusion of variables such as changeable job skills, a career time horizon, and a preference for the type of work done, Whipple shows that focusing on policies to reduce search time may suppress the ability of workers to efficiently allocate their service in the working world and may decrease social welfare as a result.

Whipple incorporates possible variability of skill level over time into his mathematical model. The individual can improve his skills by working and since his skill level affects the quality of future job opportunities, the worker balances future gain against any short term-utility loss; i.e., balances the disutility of having to search in the present period with the gain in terms of next period's job opportunities.

Several authors have explored the inability of job search models to explain quits and layoffs. Louis Wilde has developed a model including quits by assuming the job offers have both pecuniary and nonpecuniary elements. The pecuniary element (the wage rate) is known prior to job acceptance whereas the nonpecuniary aspects such as job characteristics, working conditions, etc., become visible only upon trial. His model shows that if the nonpecuniary value of the job falls below some critical value, it is optimal for the employee to quit and seek employment elsewhere [5, 69.]

Layoff is a more difficult phenomenon for search theory to handle for in its theoretical framework the wage setting firm has no motivation to impose nonwage rationing [26]. Job search theory implies that the ending of an unemployment spell reflects a voluntary act by the worker. For those on layoff, it is the employer who determines the duration of unemployment. No voluntary decision by the employee is involved and for them the theory of job search is largely irrelevant [20, 21]. Lippman and McCall's recent model utilizing a Markov chain represents a first effort to include the dynamics of layoff in the job search theory framework [42, 66].

The apparent inability of search theory to explain layoffs has prompted alternative theories such as the quasi or implicit contract theory [24]. This is often referred to as the invisible handshake where workers enter into implicit understandings with employers that temporary layoffs rather than variations in wage levels will be treated as the optimal response to demand variations. Recent work by Clark and Summers suggests the inability of contract theory to account for a large part of measured unemployment and the implausibility of search theory as an explanation of why people become or remain unemployed [11]. According to Clark and Summers, neither theory offers an explanation of reality. Their research indicates that most of today's unemployment is characterized by relatively few persons who are out of work a large part of the time in contrast to the turnover view of unemployment being characterized by large numbers of unemployment spells but spells of short duration. Perceptions of the welfare or human costs of unemployment appear to vary widely between the two views. Search theory doesn't adequately explain why individuals become unemployed. Search theory can perhaps best be viewed as a theory of the determinants of the duration of unemployment rather than a theory of the determinant of unemployment itself.

Critique

In his early works examining the prices paid for used cars and the wages offered recent college graduates, Stigler suggested search as the means of determining the best alternative. Associated with search for information are costs. The search problem consists of determining whether or not search should be started, and if started, how long it should continue. The resulting optimal strategy is to search until the expected marginal return from the next unit of search equals the marginal cost of continued search. This decision rule has permitted analysis of variables impacting on costs and returns. Anything that reduces the costs of being unemployed or the costs of search will increase an individual's expected duration of unemployment. The emotional pain of rejection is too infrequently cited among the costs of job search [253, 259]. Anything that decreases an individual's job horizon or increases his discount rate will reduce his search and lead to a decrease in duration of his unemployment spell [15, 16]. However, such policies need not constitute an increase in social welfare if the reduction in search time suppresses the ability of workers to efficiently allocate their services in the working world. Conceivably, the unemployment spells could be shortened but the number of spells increased, leading to a net decrease in social welfare.

Search theories were given explicit mathematical exposition by Reder [57], McCall [46], Gronau [25]. These models have assumed greater mathematical complexity over the years [7, 33, 35, 36, 38, 56, 60, 61], but all retain the basic structure developed by Stigler.

The development of the theoretical model has done much to illuminate the complexities of the job search process. In deciding where to search and whether or not to accept a given job offer the seeker must evaluate the attributes of the job according to his desired attributes. The model handles this by allowing the individual to establish minimum standards of acceptability for each decision attribute. This procedure can readily be conceptualized in a two dimensional setting. The picture becomes foggy as we move into more and more dimensions, but mathematical models facilitate the handling of such complexities. Theoretical research has been important in identifying the parameters of the job search process for empirical studies.

The theoretical job search models have paid minimal attention to the demand side of the employment process. The organizational side of the market is effectively ignored in that recruiting practices as information sources are not considered. However, the recruiting role is implicitly acknowledged and adaptable to the basic theoretical framework.

Little in the way of policy recommendations has resulted from the theoretical job search models [67]. No unified theory exists to explain the empirical relations between search strategies and institutional arrangements such as the minimum wage, unemployment insurance, or social security [40, 41]. The identified control variables for use in reducing unemployment such as improving the job seeker skill level via training to permit him to sample job offers from a wider occupational distribution and reducing the cost of search [29], have been shown to give ambiguous results [40, 41, 67].

Theoretical job search models are important in that the development of the basic model has, according to Lippman and McCall,

> ...contributed substantially to economic theory by introducing information costs and search into the highly unrealistic neoclassical models of perfect (costless) information. Nevertheless, the standard search model possesses severe limitations when viewed either as a norma-

> tive guide to the individual job searcher or as a micro rationale for macro behavior [42].

John Dunlop has taken this final criticism a step further in saying that:

> While all kinds of ingenious models of job search, labor market signaling, and training costs and benefits have emerged, I am not aware that any useful system of organizing new or available data or any viable programs have been developed from this source to deal with the pressing issues of youth unemployment, minority hiring, and upgrading of the low productivity groups [14].

The theoretical search models have produced a background against which to conduct empirical analysis in real world settings as to how people do in fact seek and locate employment. Important insights have been gained through theoretical model building which must in turn be tested by empirical research. Empirical analysis impacts upon policy considerations through observation and through testing theoretical job search models applied to real world settings. The elongated process is expected to produce valuable information for the job seeker, for the employer, and for those who formulate public policy.

On the other hand, application of the neoclassical microeconomic paradigm has tended to define the research field and unduly limits both theoretical and empirical alternatives considered. Behavioral (psychological and sociological) perspectives have tended to be ignored. For instance, the large scale income maintenance experiments in Seattle and Denver used tests of economic theory as the normative base for designing and testing interventions. Assistance in self-directed job search was limited to non-directive information counseling. The highly directive, low information quotient, psychologically oriented approaches typical of job search training programs were, therefore, ruled out as policy options. Subsequently, the evaluation of the Carter administration's welfare reform experiments were structured around demand deficit and structural unemployment issues, ignoring any test of the potential of job search assistance, even though the latter was provided for in the draft bill and pilot programs.

Lessons for Job Search Training Programs

By and large, job search theory was never constructed as a guide for labor market practitioners, especially those responsible for public programs.

As noted in the introduction, the objective of the theory has generally been to explain worker actions at a high level of abstraction as a contribution to a general equilibrium theory for the labor market. Tests of the various hypotheses are constructed to assess the usefulness of theory in achieving that objective. By and large, that boils down to defenses of and attacks upon neoclassical theory.

The typical practitioner could not care less about those issues. How the labor market works is studied only to learn how to make it work better in particular ways. How can workers be more successful in preparing for and obtaining jobs? How can they turn a succession of jobs into a career ladder? How can employers recruit, identify, and select the employees with the actual or potential preferred characteristics? How can those employees be developed, motivated, and retained? If these objectives are not attained, how can the system be restructured to make it work better?

In some fields a productive partnership exists between theory and practice with theory pursuing practical answers and theoretical discoveries implemented and tested in practice. There has been little such relation between theory and practice in labor market research. However, empirical research is divided between that which tests theories and that which pursues practical answers. Therefore, a more productive relationship exists between empirical research and practice. Nevertheless, there are a few insights from the theoretical literature which offer some cautions and some suggestions for those who would teach job search techniques.

Just like a pair of scissors, the job market has two blades and job search training programs must be concerned with how employers recruit and select workers. The theoretical literature suggests that the jobseeker's information costs can be reduced by informing jobseekers of alternative employment possibilities and the ways of acquiring them, or by shifting the cost of learning about the jobseeker to the employers. If a job search assistance program can not accomplish this, it is of no advantage.

The theoretical models view employers and employees as acting rationally in the long run and consequently taking those actions which yield positive returns. Job search training programs must cast job seekers in a favorable light where the employer sees them as a worthwhile acquisition.

Finally, theory tells us that job search training programs need to go beyond telling people how to find just any job. The practitioner must be concerned with the quality of the job and the tradeoffs between short search as yielding high turnover, immediate jobs, and longer search for career path jobs. In this vein, job search assistance efforts must teach greater labor market understanding and manipulation.

CHAPTER II

The Empirical Research Literature

"For the labor market to operate efficiently . . . workers must have knowledge of alternative employment opportunities, and employers must have a means of making their needs known [2]." We might well add, "They must have means of finding each other." In his seminal article "Information Networks in Labor Markets," Albert Rees [193] speaks of the information networks leading to employment as being divisible into two major groups: formal and informal methods. Included in the formal category are labor market intermediaries such as the public employment service, private employment agencies, newspaper want ads, unions, and school and professional placement efforts. Composing the informal category are employee referrals, walk ins, gate hires, direct application to employers, and the efforts of friends and relatives [193, 194, 195, 242].

Information flows are an important determinant of labor market outcomes. Bradley Schiller in an important study on the utilization and effectiveness of various job search media states:

> There is enough evidence to demonstrate that the job search medium is an important part of the job search message: how an individual seeks work, as well as the amount of time and effort spent searching, is an important determinant of search success . . . Moreover, there is some evidence that alternative media are not equally effective for all groups of jobseekers. In view of this and the fact that the information on available job vacancies is scarce, information on job search media should be treated as an important commodity. As such information accumulates, there is reason to believe that labor market efficiency might be enhanced and therewith major macroeconomic outcomes [211].

However, as the empirical research literature makes clear, information is only the first step. There must also be contact and decisions and the institutions to implement all three.

Of the seven questions posed at the beginning of this review, the empirical literature focuses on the odd numbered ones but leaves off the last. Researchers have largely sought to answer:

(1) How do job seekers search for work?

(2) How effective are those alternative methods?

Limited attention has been directed to the employers recruiting methods and to the design of more effective methods.

Job Search Method

Approximately 30 full scale studies have been identified of the techniques used by workers as they search to locate work. Other sources add credence to the specific points of these studies and seek to explain observed phenomena. Our purpose here is not to explore individually the methodology and research design of each of these studies on methods used by job seekers to identify job opportunities and locate employment. Rather, our goal is to extract from these studies generalized statements as to how various groups of job seekers seek and find work and to identify job seeker characteristics, institutional attributes, constraints, and other social/economic phenomena that may influence search success.

Care must be taken vis-a-vis these studies of job search behavior. While a few of the studies are based on data from national samples, a majority cover very limited populations and geographical areas in regard to a specific event such as a plant closure. Consequently, caution is warranted in attempting to extract generalized conclusions from a series of individual studies undertaken under unique circumstances, different market conditions, and with different subpopulations. Secondly, the vast majority of these studies are now a decade old, and many are even more dated.

While our major interest is not in examining the research design of each study, important insight is to be gained in exploring the more recent entries into the body of literature. Tables 1 to 3 constitute a summary statement of the empirical findings of a majority of the 30 studies. Table 1 analyzes studies of how people look for work while Table 2 analyzes studies of how they found it. Table 3 analyzes those studies which provided effectiveness measures. Those studies performed prior to 1970 have been summarized elsewhere [226]. Those studies conducted after 1970 are summarized here in order to; (1) crystallize and synthesize the relevant findings, and (2) by comparison with earlier studies, determine any significant changes in the pattern of use of job searching techniques.

TABLE 1. METHODS OF JOB SEARCH -- HOW PEOPLE LOOK FOR WORK

Percent Distribution

						FORMAL METHODS	
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
Farnell & Pitzalls	1976	Monmouth Co., N.J.	101*	23.0	3.2	12.6	-
Rosenfeld	1976	Nation-wide CPS	3,269				
			Employed	25	6	10	-
			Unempl.	30	6	26	-
Camil	1974	Survey 20 medium size cities	2,000	47.5	14.5	27.6	6.2
US Bureau of Labor Statistics (Rosenfeld)	1973	Nationwide Sample Survey	10,437	57.6	21.0	33.5	6.0
Schiller	1972	National Job Finding Survey	CPS	45.9	21.0	33.5	6.0
			WIN	69.0	19.6	52.1	5.0
Bradshaw	1970-71	National CPS Sample	--				
			Total	23.4	10.1	30.2	-
			Male	21.9	10.4	32.9	-
			Female	25.1	9.8	27.2	-

	INFORMAL METHODS				
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
8 WIN 2 CETA 3.6 Other	1.0	21	25.5	-	*Samples of AFDC recipients
-	-	18	70	-	
-	-	15	72	-	
-	- *	69.0	82.1	*	*Other-Com.Org.1.6 Sch.plcmt 10.9 Prof.Jr. 6.4
-	*	78	66.0	*	*Other-Sch.plcmt. 12.5; Teachers 10.4 Cv.Srv.15.2;Jr.5.5; Com.Org.5.6;Other 12.2
-	-	60.0	66.0	-	
75.8 (WIN)	-	70.2	71.3	-	
-		14.3	71.0		*"Other" not split formal/informal Total 7.4; Male 9.8; Female 4.8
-	*	16.3	72.2	*	
-		12.0	69.7		

Table 1, Continued

				FORMAL METHODS			
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
Felder	1970	Denver,CO	320				
			Black:Male	71	27	61	8
			Female	59	26	62	-
			White:Male	52	23	52	18
			Female	68	24	37	-
			Chicano:Male	52	22	44	15
			Female	48	7	41	-
Reid	1966-68	West Midlands of England	876				
			Men	56.6	1.7	61.4	11.2
			Women	43.2	6.5	27.6	1.6
Sheppard & Belitsky	1963-64	Erie, PA	136*	53	3	34	8

		INFORMAL METHODS			
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
-	1	41	70	-	
-	-	41	69		
-	2	32	61	-	
-	2	25	49	-	
-	1	36	62	-	
-	-	44	56	-	
*	*	39.3	47.1	*	*Other-not divided out; men 6.8; women 5.4
-		34.6	36.7		
-	3	70	72	_	*Sample of blue collar workers involved in a plant closing

TABLE 2. METHODS OF JOB FINDING--HOW PEOPLE FIND WORK
Percent Distribution

						FORMAL METHODS	
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
Farnell & Pitzallis	1976	Monmouth Co., NJ	101[a]	11	3	4	-
Granovetter	1974	Boston Area	280	-	-	-	-
		by age					
		Under 34		-	-	-	-
		Over 34		-	-	-	-
Camil	1974	Survey of 20 medium-size cities	2,000	16.6	5.6	5.6	1.4
US Bureau of Labor Statistics (Rosenfeld)	1973	BLS National Sample	10,437	13.5	5.6	5.1	1.5
Schiller	1972	National Job Finding Survey & CPS Data	CPS	12.2	5.6	5.1	1.5
			WIN[g]	7.0	2.3	6.1	.9
Stevens	1970	Cleveland, Ohio	1,040	18	2	11	2
Hilaski	1968-1969	6 UES Poverty Areas:	142,500	18.5	4.8	15.5	-
		Atlanta	14,900	20.3	3.4	14.7	-
		Chicago	21,700	18.9	2.6	14.2	-
		Detroit	22,300	16.1	4.2	17.6	-
		Houston	22,500	19.2	4.6	13.9	-
		LA	13,000	16.1	3.1	17.1	-
		NYC	48,000	19.2	7.3	15.4	-

		INFORMAL METHODS			
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
12 WIN 5 CETA	-	32	29	-	[a]AFDC recipients
-	17.3* 25.3* 11.9*	56.8	19.2	6.8	*All formal means included
-	3.0[b] .35[c]	34.0	29.8	-	[b]School Placement [c]Community Organization
-	5.1[d] 1.0[e] 1.0[f]	26.2	34.9	6.2*	*Informal & formal; [d]School placement & Civil service; [e]Community Organizations; [f]Professional journals
-	5.1[d]	26.2	34.9	9.4*	[g]Comparing WIN recipient search methods with that of general popular; *both formal & informal
	-	24.6	21.6	4.5*	
	-	35	26	5	
-	7.9[h]	21.3	25.1	7.0*	*Includes both formal & informal, no union breakout
-	8.3	21.7	25.2	6.4*	
-	9.8	21.2	27.4	5.9*	[h]Community organizations
-	8.3	18.8	26.7	8.2*	
-	5.5	23.1	25.6	8.2*	
-	9.4	22.4	25.3	6.5*	
-	7.3	21.0	23.0	6.7*	

Table 2, Continued

						FORMAL METHODS	
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
U.S. Dept. of Labor	1968	Philadelphia PA	(302 Black)	14	3	12	5
			(47 White	6	6	9	5
Stevens	1966-1967	Philadelphia PA	(316 Black)	7	2	10	-
			(790 White)	5	3	6	-
Loomba	1963-1965	San Francisco Area	744	17.3	7.5	3	-
Lurie/ Rayack	1964	Middletown, CT	(150 Black)	3	3	9	-
			(100 White)	3	10	2	4
Sheppard & Belitsky	1963-1964	Erie, PA	136^n	4	-	14	5
			40^o	-	35	24	-
Larman	1963	Detroit, MI	185	1	1	1	40
Wilcock & Franke	1960-1962	Columbus, OH	670	-	-	4	12
		Oklahoma City	500	-	-	4	3
		E.St.Louis,IL	500	-	-	3	7
		Peoria, IL	290	-	-	5	5
		Fargo, ND	70	-	-	9	7

		INFORMAL METHODS			
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
-	-	34	12	11*	*Includes both formal & informal [j]Remainder-no response
		30	13	21*	
-	13[j]	28	37	3*	*Includes both formal & informal
-	20[j]	22	32	12*	[j]School placement
k l	m	30.5	22.7	9.2*	*Includes both formal and informal [k]Previous employer efforts, 4.2; [l]Civil Service, 4.1 [m]Professional societies 1.2; trade journals .3
-	-	32	53	-	
-	-	36	45	-	
-	-	56	14	7	[n]Blue collar workers
-	-	12	24	6	[o]White collar workers
-	16[p]	9	27	5	[p]Employer assistance
-	-	37	32	15*	*Includes all others-- formal & informal;
-	-	33	40	20	Union column--reflect
-	-	53	22	15	union plus company
-	-	43	31	16	assistance
-	-	31	35	18	

Table 2, Continued

						FORMAL METHODS	
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
Wilcock-Sobel	1952	Kankakee, IL	100	19	-	8	-
Miernyk	1951-1953	Lowell, MA	100	9	-	9	2
		Lawrence, MA	80	7	-	3	1
		New Bedford,MA	100	0	-	3	3
		Providence,RI	80	7	-	3	2
		Fall River,MA	100	3	-	5	1
Adams & Aronson	1949-1950	Auburn, NY	145	2	1	1	12
Myers-Shultz	1948-1949	Nashua, NH	50	3	-	5	3
Heneman/Fox/Yoder	1947-1948	Minneapolis, MN	500	14	5	6	7
Myers & Shultz	1948	New England Community	350	11	-	2	-
Reynolds & Shister	1948	New England	350	13	-	13	5
Myers-MacLaurin	1937-1940	Fitchburg,MA	60	2	1	1	-
DeSchweinitz	1930	Philadelphia, PA	2,000	3	2	x	-

		INFORMAL METHODS			
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
-	3[q]	46	23	1*	[q]Recall
-	-	36	35	9*	*Both formal & informal;
-	-	50	36	4	[r]Recall
-	11[r]	39	42	2	
-	-	32	42	13	
-	1[r]	59	29	2	
-	4	29	51	-	
-	33[s]	38	16	2*	[s]Recall
-	-	30	32	6*	*Both formal & informal
	t u	41	21	-	[t]Recall 9; [u]employer solicitation 16
	8 v	28	20	-	[v]Recall 13
-	22[w]	39	33	2*	[w]Recall
-	14*	58	23	-	*Study date prior to ES *Both formal & informal

TABLE 3. EFFECTIVENESS MEASURES (Percent Distribution)

						FORMAL METHODS	
Authors	Date of Study	Location	Sample Size	Want Ads	Private Agencies	Public Employment Service	Unions
Rungeling, Smith & Scott	1974	Dodge Co., GA				17.7	
		Sunflower Co., MS					
		Starr Co., TI	367			46.5	
		Natchitoches Perish, LA (Rural labor markets)					
Camil	1974	Sample Survey from 20 representative cities	2,000	34.9	38.6	20.3	22.5
US Bureau of Labor Statistics (Rosenfeld)	1973	National Sample Survey	10,437	33.0	24.0	13.7	22.2
Schiller	1972	Census Bureau Job Finding Survey	CPS	23.9	24.2	13.7	22.2
			WIN	10.1	11.7	11.7	18.0
Reid	1966-1968	West Midlands of England	876				
			Men	36.5	30.0	25.1	18.2
			Women	51.3	41.7	45.1	33.3

		INFORMAL METHODS			
Government Programs	Other Formal	Friends and Relatives	Direct Application	Other Informal	Special Comments
	32.9*	41.3	66.6		Measure (1) #obtaining job via method + number mentioning use of method Measure (2) # method + number using method most *In this case "other" includes want ads, unions, & private agencies
	27.5[a] 21.9[b]	56.2	36.3		Measure-Percent successful # finding via method *# using method [a]School Placement [b]Community Organization
	*	60.4	47.7	*	Uses Measure (1) above *School Placement office 21. Civil Services 12.5; Ref.Journals 7.3; Teachers & Professors 12.1; All others 39.7; Community Org., 12.7
CPS 43.5 (WIN)		43.6	47.7		Compares CPS general findings with that of WIN participant using method (1) above
	*	84.5 95.3	72.7 98.0	*	Measure is "Penetration Rate" # finding via method * # using method Same as (1). *"Other" not differentiated between formal & informal Men 97.5; Women 90.0

TABLE 4. METHODS USED TO SEEK AND FIND WORK (1972)

Method	Job Search		Job Finding	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total (thousands)	10,437	100.0%	10,437	100.0%
Applied directly to employer		66.0		34.9
Asked friends:				
About jobs where they work		50.8		12.4
About jobs elsewhere		41.8		5.5
Asked relatives:				
About jobs where they work		28.4		6.1
About jobs elsewhere		27.3		2.2
Answered newspaper ads:				
Local		45.9		12.2
Nonlocal		11.7		1.3
Private employment agency		21.0		5.6
State employment service		33.5		5.1
School placement office		12.5		3.0
Civil service test		15.3		2.1
Asked teacher or professor		10.4		1.4
Went to place where employers come to pick up people		1.4		0.1
Placed ads in newspapers:				
Local		1.6		0.2
Nonlocal		0.5		(a)
Answered ads in professional or trade journals		4.9		0.4
Union hiring halls		6.0		1.5
Contacted local organization		5.6		0.8
Placed ads in professional or trade journals		0.6		(a)
Other		11.8		5.2

[a] Less than 0.05 percent.

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), pp. 4 and 7.

Informal Methods

There are sharp differences between the ways people look for and find work. The Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1973 studied the ways in which over 10,000 workers sought for and found jobs in 1972 [243]. That data is summarized in Table 4. Asking friends and relatives was the second most frequently used search technique but only about one-fourth as many as used that method found their jobs that way. The most used source--direct application to employers--was the most successful job finding method with only a two to one ratio between search and finding methods. Newspaper ads and the public employment service were third and fourth among search sources but third and sixth respectively among sources through which jobs were found. Other studies support these general findings [71, 72, 91, 101, 113, 116, 123, 139, 167, 178, 195, 197, 198, 203, 204, 205, 208, 211, 221, 229, 245, 259]. However, such figures may be distorted by respondents failing to report intermediate methods which led them ultimately to the employer's gate [83, 139]. For example, suppose a seeker hears of a job over the radio or in the newspaper and speaks with friends employed at the establishment about the opening. He then applies directly and accepts employment. Which search method led to employment? Which is he most likely to report?

This possible distortion could be especially devastating to the public employment service (and want ads). Studies of methods used by unemployed workers in search of jobs always give it high ranking [82, 115, 195, 221, 249], whereas research reporting on the methods by which jobs are actually found consistently discount the public employment service [71, 87, 112, 122, 137, 164, 167, 204, 211, 229, 245, 259]. However, the public employment service gives the applicant a card and directs him or her to contact the employer who placed the job order. After reading the want ads, the job seeker still has to make the contact. Conceivably both might subsequently be reported as a direct application when reporting how the job was found.

At any rate, the literature is rich with studies showing that a majority of workers use informal channels in obtaining knowledge of job opportunities [71, 76, 77, 91, 101, 112, 125, 146, 155, 165, 168, 178, 194, 195, 197, 211, 221, 248, 259]. Rees recognizes this, stating that "the effectiveness and advantages of informal networks of information have been too little appreciated [193]." Rees explains the overwhelming use of such methods on the basis of intensive and extensive margins. An economic agent (employer, consumer, worker) searches on the extensive margin by getting quotes from more than one buyer or seller. Search on the intensive margin is conducted by getting additional information concerning a quote already received. Learning of an available job through a given search method, the job seeker then seeks more intensive information about that job. Such information is most easily acquired by direct contact with the employer or by contact with friends and relatives acquainted with the job's characteristics.

It should not be surprising then that use of informal methods is highly correlated with job finding since these methods lend themselves well to search on the intensive margin and since search on the intensive margin is the step preceding acceptance of employment. Again the problem becomes a definitional one. Though first knowledge of an opening may have been gained by a radio announcement, an ad in a newspaper, or even a job referral from the employment service, the worker may reasonably forget such intermediate steps and report finding employment via direct application.

The Public Employment Service

A 1974 study funded by the Labor Department and conducted in medium sized cities [87] sought to determine the role of the public employment service in the job search activities of 2,000 job seekers and the recruitment efforts of 600 employers [247]. Table 5 summarizes the job search experience. While the ranking was somewhat different from that of the BLS study [243], the informal self search methods were way ahead of any of the approaches involving third party labor market intermediaries. It was also clear that the public employment service, in addition to being relatively lightly used by job seekers and having a relatively low success rate, is seldom used as a sole source of recruitment by employers. It is usually used simultaneously with other sources, the same job order typically being given to three to five sources.

The employment service tends to be more widely used by large established firms than by small employers and is more often called when employers have multiple job orders. Employers expressed a preference for informal methods saying that it is only when their needs exceeded available applicants that they turn to formal methods [85, 194, 238, 247, 248]. This is reflected in the types of jobs listed with the employment service. Clerical, sales, and service positions (the high turnover jobs) make up a significantly greater

TABLE 5. JOB SEARCH METHODS USED/METHODS THROUGH WHICH JOBS OBTAINED

Search Methods Used	Percent Used	Percent Hired	Percent Success
Employment service	27.6	5.6	20.3
Private agency	14.5	5.6	38.6
Employer direct	82.1	29.8	36.3
Want ads	62.5	--	
(Answer ads)	47.5	16.6	34.9
Labor unions	6.2	1.4	22.5
Friends/relatives	65.	30.7	47.2
Business associates	33.1	3.3	9.9
Community organization	1.6	.35	21.9
School placement	10.9	3.0	27.5
Professional journal	6.4		
(Answer)	(2.5)		

Source: Camil Associates, Recruitment, Job Search and the United States Employment Service, United States Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, R & D Monograph, 43, 1976.

proportion of employment service orders than do professional, technical, and managerial positions [98, 120, 248].

The majority of employers surveyed felt the employment service provided satisfactory service and that their referrals were as good as those received from other sources. Common complaints about the employment service in this study and others include: poor screening of applicants, the predominance of minorities referred, failure of referrals to keep appointments, the length of time between placing the order and receiving referrals, and the anonymity of the job bank system [77, 102, 120, 194, 248]. When asked why they didn't use the service more frequently or for their most recent recruitment, employers overwhelmingly cited the current labor market conditions: potential employees were readily available [121, 248].

The success rate for the employment service (percent of all job seekers finding their job through the employment service) was 20 percent, yet all formal methods combined accounted for only one-third of all successful hires. Friends and relatives accounted for 31 percent of the hires, direct application 30 percent, newspapers 16.6 percent, and the employment service for one worker in 17 [248].

This research and other studies report basically positive attitudes among job seekers toward the employment service:

> Most persons who found their job by means other than the employment service were simply using methods they were familiar with, and which they found easier to use--particularly informal methods. They were rarely avoiding the employment service because of a misunderstanding of its role or service. Probably, only as the simpler and more informal methods fail does the job seeker begin to seek out the "harder" services, such as the employment service or private agencies [248].

Negative comments of seekers concerning the public employment service include: standing in line too long, poor treatment, being referred to positions that have already been filled, the lack of good jobs listed, and the employment service being too employer oriented [99, 117, 133, 214, 221, 248].

Felder's study of low income worker job search in the Denver labor market found users of the public employment service to incur significant costs "in the form of extended waiting time before receiving information leading to a successful job placement [115]." Job seekers making predominant use of the employment service tended to have longer spells of unemployment than those concentrating search through alternative job search media. Another possible explanation for the phenomenon is that the service is used more frequently by individuals with historically longer unemployment spells and inefficient search techniques.

Much has been written about the public employment service; its record of services, and its future in today's setting. Perhaps the most insightful summary is Miriam Johnson's book Counterpoint [144]. According to this source, when established the employment service occupied a unique position among labor market intermediaries. Over time other intermediaries emerged and to a significant extent the employment service lost the competitive edge it once enjoyed. Now the public agency is often forced to go begging for use--an example being Executive Order 11598 requiring firms with government contracts to file all job orders with the public employment service. During the 1960's, placements by the employment service declined despite substantial increases in funding. The employment service had been called upon to fulfill so many public roles that its ability to attain many goals had been hampered. The role of providing manpower services to the disadvantaged had increased employer dissatisfaction with the service's inability to provide job ready applicants [184]. Other factors impacting on the public employment service were thought to include: increased use of private agencies; changes in the industrial mix of placements; legal restrictions placed on it but not on private agencies; and absorption of employment service budget funds through participation in employment and training programs [184].

Public policy has recognized deficiencies and has tried to adapt. In 1968 President Nixon concluded that, "a jobless man could tell the computer operator his employment background, his skills, job needs--and in minutes he could learn where to find work or the training he sought [111]." This launched a federal drive for computer assisted employment placement with worthwhile goals of increased geographical mobility, reduced search time, improved job matches, and a deepened market for the public employment service. Computerized local job banks were also developed [111, 241]. However, the evidence appears to conclude that the computer assisted employment effort did not meet its goals [184, 241]. Little reduction in search time resulted; informal search methods still predominate; the job banks have increased employment service anonymity; and some researchers have concluded that the system harms the disadvantaged by disseminating labor market information to a wider audience [241].

Some recent policy developments designed to enlarge the employment service placement role by requiring its use have had the primary result of reducing its effectiveness measures in ways that are more appearance than real. Required application by unemployment insurance, welfare, and food stamp recipients increases the denominator without affecting the numerator of the placement ratio [71, 115, 137, 248].

Newspaper Want Ads

All of the major studies show the help wanted ads to be one of the sources of job availability information most used yet least effective in actually finding a job [82, 87, 284]. However, it is also the least expensive source of such information in terms of time as well as money invested. The want ads share with the employment service the burdens of a residual role. They end up with the hardest to fill jobs and those jobseekers who tend to be the hardest to place people [145, 245, 248]. The help wanted ads are a job search method which places the individual seeker in direct competition with every other job seeker using the paper. Studies of the want ads have shown that elimination of those calling for part time help, those serving as "come ons" for private employment agencies, those which are for commissioned sales, and those requiring specialized qualifications leave few jobs open to the worker without extensive experience or credentials looking for full time work [145]. A comparative study of the use of the help wanted ads in Salt Lake City and San Francisco found that 76 percent and 85 percent of the employers, in the cities respectively, hired no workers through the want ads. Of the 10,686 jobseekers applying in response to want ads, only one in every 24 was hired [250].

Private Employment Agencies

Albert Rees [193] refers to the private employment service as an industry that sells at substantial fees a service that the government provides free. If so, in a rational world one would expect the private agency to disappear. Yet these agencies have survived and some have done far better than survival [97]. Private employment agencies constitute a highly competitive industry of a large number of small firms with few barriers to entry [223]. They have survived by adapting to a constantly changing labor market, something the public employment service has been unable to do under the burden of bureaucratic red tape and changing congressional mandates. Competition has forced the private agencies to cater to a small segment of the labor market, to be aggressive in both applicant screening and vacancy locating, and to bind the applicant or employer to the agency by way of contract or fee [115, 213]. They are used by fewer workers, yet account for a slightly larger percentage of placements than the public employment service [241, 244]. However, considering the number of offices and personnel, the private agency performance is not appreciably better than that of the public employment service [169].

The use of private employment agencies shows no sign of subsiding. Their livelihood depends on placements; their placement rates are consequently good. Some employers view use of a private agency as indicative of serious labor market attachment and conscientious behavior by the jobseeker [194].

Method Efficiency

To obtain a proper measure of the efficiency of various job search media, the theoretical literature would suggest comparison of the expected earnings differences with the total costs associated with the use of each medium. For such a calculation, data on relative intensity of use and direct expenses involved in search would be necessary. Available data do not satisfy the measurement needs of the theoretical model. As a result, alternative measures of effectiveness on relative payoff have been approximated. David Stevens points out that, to develop a viable measure of method effectiveness, one must have measures of the "own time" and "purchased services" inputs for each method [226]. Only then can outcome be related with the amount of effort undertaken in search [228]. Effectiveness has been measured by two indices: 1) the ratio between the number who obtain jobs by the method and the number who mentioned using the method, and 2) the ratio of the number who obtained a job by the method to the number who used the method the most.

Data is available to apply only the first effectiveness measure in the large scale national studies of Table 3. The BLS study of over 10,000 job seekers [241] gives first rank in effectiveness to the use of friends and relatives at 60.4 percent. Direct application ranked second at 47.7 percent followed by want ads 33.0 percent, private employment agencies 24.0 percent, unions 22.2 percent, and the public employment service 13.7 percent. The Camil Associates study of 2,000 job seekers in 20 cities [87] differed only in the relative rankings of direct applications and private agencies. Friends and relatives were first at 56.2 percent. Private employment agencies came next with 38.6 percent followed by direct application 36.3 percent, want ads 34.9 percent, school placement 27.5 percent, unions 22.5 percent, community organizations 21.9 percent, and the public employment service last at 20.3 percent. The other studies cited in Table 3 [195, 208, 211] differed in the first and second rankings for friends and relatives and direct applications, but all placed the public employment service last in effectiveness rankings. The three studies which had the data needed to apply the second measure of effectiveness (the number who obtained a job by the method over the number who used the method most) placed the employment service consistently behind the informal methods of friends and relatives and direct application [195, 208, 211] but two placed the public employment services ahead of or equal to private agencies [195, 211].

The public employment service suffered in such comparisons by being open to all applicants without cost and by the number of marginal groups such as food stamp and welfare recipients who are required to register as a prerequisite for benefits. By these standards, an approach to which job seekers had limited access but which employers found attractive would be counted most effective.

Search Intensity

A national survey by the Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that overall, jobseekers average only slightly more than 1.5 search methods each with women using even fewer methods [82]. Other studies place the average at approximately three to four methods [87, 112, 137, 203, 220]. Rosenfeld found that jobseekers spend relatively few hours in search, about 66 percent reported looking for 5 hours or less a week and only 20 percent for 11 hours or more a week [203, 204].

Little research effort has been spent on search intensity yet its importance is clear. A study of unemployed engineers and scientists [110] found that delaying search following job loss was positively associated with unemployment duration, but that is a tautology unless the unemployment duration was stretched to some multiple of the search delay. Financial resources, whether it be unemployment compensation, family wealth, significant severance pay, or other, reduce search intensity [110, 163, 195].

A consistent conclusion among the studies is that the way to get a job is "to get as many irons into the fire" as possible, to use multiple methods, to make search a full time job, and to begin search early [195].

Differences by Subpopulations

Various population groups use and are successful in search through different search techniques, as demonstrated by a variety of studies.

Welfare Recipients. Schiller compares and contrasts the search patterns as recorded in the Census Bureau's 1973 Job Finding Survey with the search patterns of WIN participants [211]. While recognizing caveats such as a welfare population's "need" to exaggerate reports of job search efforts due to government regulations and public attitudes toward welfare, Schiller concludes that the WIN jobseekers pursue a more extensive job search than the non-WIN population. Other studies question this finding [112].

WIN jobseekers were found to be heavily dependent on public employment services, particularly WIN itself, for jobfinding whereas non-WIN jobseekers relied on direct application, friends and relatives, and newspaper want ads. Using the first effectiveness rate mentioned previously (number of job finders identifying a specific medium as the source of their jobs divided by the number of job finders using the medium in their searches), Schiller found all media, with the exception of WIN itself, to be far more effective for the non-WIN population than for the WIN jobseekers. As Schiller points out, this finding supports the labor market queue theory in that it "confirms that the least skilled have the greatest difficulty finding employment, even when they use the same search media as the better skilled [211]."

A 1976 study by the Monmouth County New Jersey Welfare Board looked at the question of how welfare recipients search for employment [112]. The authors, Farnell and Pitzalis, found informal methods to be the most popular (with direct application) and aid of friends and relatives being the most widely used and most effective. More than three-fourths of the recipients were shown to have no contact with public agencies in their search. The Work Incentive Program (WIN) and the New Jersey Employment Service (NJES) were the most frequently used public agencies. NJES was relatively ineffective while WIN provided half of the jobs found through public agencies. Of all the methods available, the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Civil Service examinations grouped together were the most effective with a success rate of 83 percent.

Sex and Age. The sex and age of the jobseeker have only modest effect on the search methods used and on search success [203, 211]. Consistently the top ranking methods for both men and women are direct application to employers, asking friends and relatives, answering newspaper want ads, and visiting the public employment service.

In the Labor Department's 1973 Job Finding Survey a much larger proportion of men than women reported asking friends and relatives, and using the state employment service and union hiring halls [82, 137, 203, 204]. Women tend to rely more heavily on newspapers and community organizations [82, 137]. Men and older workers use more job search methods than women and younger workers and spend more time engaged in search [82, 112]. One study reports that on average, workers use four methods; about one out of five use only one method and over one-third use five methods or more [203]. Another study places the average number of methods used at 1.5 for men; lower for women [82]. The more frequent use of the public employment service by men and older workers may be attributed to their increased likelihood to have received unemployment insurance benefits from previous employment and consequently their increased likelihood to be more familiar with the employment service [112, 137].

Youth tend to use fewer job search methods than do other age groups [62, 180, 186]. This may reflect their ability to postpone job search until a likely job presents itself or it may indicate insufficient knowledge of job finding techniques.

Race. Significant differences in job search behavior occur by race. Blacks are less likely to use direct application to employers or to have answered newspaper want ads. On the other hand, blacks are more likely to have approached friends and relatives, to have taken Civil Service tests, and to use the public employment services [82, 137, 152, 155, 188, 203, 222]. Several studies indicate that black youth make infrequent use of the public employment service, primarily for two reasons: first, a large number know little about its services or location; second, the employment service has the perceived onus of having a poor record for finding jobs for youth [125, 188, 222].

Blacks make significantly greater use of local organizations, contacting the Urban League and welfare or social organizations for job leads [82, 203, 204]. Bradshaw reports that whites rely much more heavily on private employment agencies than do minority job seekers. "In 1970 and 1971, over 10 percent of white job seekers used private agencies and less than 30 percent used public agencies; the proportions of Blacks using those agencies were 7 and 35 percent, respectively [82, 155, 167]." Few blacks find jobs through unions in spite of their union membership [137, 155, 167]. Blacks also tend to use fewer methods than whites, suggesting a lack of knowledge of effective search techniques, insufficient funds for a prolonged diversified search, and possibly perceived discrimination [82, 151].

The effectiveness rates of several search methods appear to differ sharply for blacks and whites [152, 203]. Direct application is less effective for black jobseekers than for whites. This is true in the case of private employment agencies, newspaper ads, and school placement offices as well. Blacks experience differential success through community organizations and the state employment service [82, 203].

The literature presents evidence that young blacks use job search mechanisms that differ from their white counterparts [167, 180, 186, 187]. They rely more on formal methods such as the public employment service and want ads whereas white youth more frequently use informal methods [151, 167, 180, 186]. There is growing evidence to indicate that those taking jobs by formal methods experience more immediate dissatisfaction and terminate their employment faster than those taking jobs via informal methods [195]. Informal methods lend themselves better to search on the intensive margin, search which solidifies the union between worker and job.

The evidence shows that black jobseekers turn to formal job search methods more frequently than do whites [137, 151, 152, 155, 167, 186, 194]. The research also suggests that the black worker searches more intensively for a job than his white counterparts [152, 211]. Given the reported superiority of informal methods in job search effectiveness, it seems evident that blacks are not linked into the informal informational networks. This inability of blacks to make as effective use as whites of informal contact methods helps explain the differential success of these groups in job finding. Informal sources of job information tend to reinforce existing interracial disparities in employment [151, 152, 194, 266].

Black youth are shown to have limited job market knowledge relative to their white counterparts [71, 92, 152, 159, 188, 218, 219]. Their exposure to the world of work is generally limited to their contacts in unskilled, semi-skilled, and service jobs. These facts may help explain why so many black youth restrict job search to a few occupations and industries [112, 159, 218]. There may be a tendency for blacks to approach only those firms believed to have "black jobs," seeking jobs in what they consider to be their submarket [79, 92, 152, 159, 167, 219]. Such feelings seem to be substantiated in that various studies have shown the success rates for blacks engaged in occupationally integrative job search to be lower than for whites [151, 152]. Longitudinal studies indicate that nonwhite youth are less able than white youth to escape entry level, lower status secondary jobs during their work histories [167, 186, 188].

The above mentioned problems are compounded in the job search of ghetto residents. Slum residents suffer from a lack of information on job openings and on the most effective ways to look for jobs [188]. In these geographical areas there is a lack of means of communicating job information and a lack of those psychological attitudes which contribute to successful job search [170]. Furthermore, employers generally do not recruit in such areas, poor transportation networks limit mobility and unnecessarily restrictive skill and education requirements frequently exclude a wide cross section of the ghetto jobseeking population [151, 152].

Each of these points on racial differences in job search delineates discrimination in the labor market, whether it be real or perceived. This literature, mainly of the 60's, is dated but it is improbable that these situations have totally dissipated. Blacks do make greater use of formal methods, have higher rejection rates on interviews, and have lower success rates with the majority of search methods [151, 152]. Though situations have improved over the past fifteen years of social reform, evidence lingers of racially dual job structures in labor markets, of segregated job patterns with whites and blacks using separate patterns of job seeking, of blacks seeking jobs in what they consider to be their submarket, the "black jobs" [79, 152].

Skill Level. Job search technique usage varies significantly with skill level. Skill level and years of training vary inversely with duration of unemployment. Private employment agencies, community organizations, and newspaper want ads are used widely by white collar workers and are of pronounced greater effectiveness for them than for blue collar workers [82, 137, 194, 203, 204, 221]. The greater use of private agencies by white collar workers reflects the tendency of many employers hiring such workers to have job applicants screened before referral. Blue collar and service workers are much more likely to use the public employment service and unions [117, 137]. A number of studies conclude that formal sources are more important in finding jobs in white collar occupations while informal sources are significantly more important in blue collar occupations [169, 194, 221]. The most striking aspect of the use of formal sources by skilled workers is the relative unimportance of the employment service.

All occupational groups make significant use of contacting employers directly [137]. Though the findings are mixed it appears that blue collar and service workers check more frequently with friends and relatives for job tips than do white collar job seekers [137]. Skilled workers make greater use of formal search methods than do the unskilled. Answering newspaper ads and using private agencies are among the poorest methods available to the untrained [167].

Critique

This completes a brief review of the most recent studies researching the job search techniques of various U.S. subpopulations.

The following points seem to summarize the literature.

1. The predominance of informal methods in job seeking and job finding is highlighted throughout the literature. Associated with this is the inability of some groups, most notably minorities, to obtain access to effective informal informational networks. The informal networks available to them lead either to no jobs or to poor jobs. They are, therefore, more likely to resort to the formal intermediaries which tend to be the repositories of the hard to fill and least desirable jobs.
2. Little is known as to how job seekers choose among methods of search [194, 195, 226] or the quality of information provided through the various search mechanisms. The job matches which result from self-directed job search at the intensive margin do appear to be more satisfying to the employed and less likely to be marred by turnover [122, 195]. Job seekers receive from friends information that is different from or adds to that secured from the employment service. This information obtained on the intensive margin may help account for the significant use of friends and relatives in search. However, if one's friends and relatives have limited access to good information or jobs, one's prospects are not improved from that source.

   Present measures of the efficiency and effectiveness of various job search methods are insufficient. No conclusion can be reached from the empirical studies as to whether or not seekers make efficient use of the methods available to them. No measure of the comparative efficiency of different search methods has yet been devised. Such a measure would involve measurement of intensity of search, the total cost of using each method, and the payoff accruing to investment in each technique. Virtually nothing is known about the duration of unemployment associated with alternative search methods, though advances are being made in this area [193].

The efficiency of job search and the issue of why workers use one search strategy rather than another are the sticky questions [195]. Without answers to these questions, little can be definitely said about the relative value of search techniques.

3. In times of general prosperity or as an industry progresses, the importance of formal intermediaries declines and the relative importance of "inside" informal contacts increases. Favorable economic conditions reduce search costs [70, 120, 121, 226, 227]. The attractive positions seldom find their way to the public intermediaries, are withdrawn from the open market, and distributed among present employees and informal referrals [101]. Thus the term "hidden job market."
4. No search technique is guaranteed or foolproof. Job search is as much a learned behavior as is utilization of skills on the job. To make search effective the literature suggests using multiple methods--getting many irons into the fire, beginning search early, and making search a full time job [71, 82, 110, 117, 163, 195, 205, 221, 253, 255].
5. Significant variation in search methods used occurs by race. The informal information networks available to blacks tend to be less effective as sources of good jobs. This may be due to a disproportionate lack of acquaintances in hiring and decisionmaking positions, or a generationally imposed "black job only" mindset.
6. Using contacts effectively appears to be a key to success in finding meaningful employment. Cultivating contacts is an art with high potential payoffs. The empirical literature recognizes the strength of this search source. "Those who do best are those whose contacts are occupational rather than social, whose ties to contacts are weak rather than strong, and who are in information chains that are short [122]."
7. Most unemployed jobseekers spend a few hours a week actually engaged in active job search. Does this reflect limited ingenuity and imagination in search, discouragement, pain avoidance, or the belief that the sources contacted in those few hours will pan out into job offers within a reasonable length of time? Does the method used

vary during the duration of search? The literature suggests that job seekers who primarily use the telephone, write letters, or answer ads exhaust their job possibilities after devoting a few hours a week to search [70, 117, 204, 221].

8. Few jobseekers seem to turn down job offers [204]. Do jobseekers have sufficient labor market information that they are able to direct their search to establishments where they would be happy to work if the job offer came or is the worry, frustration, and uncertainty-- the onus of not being employed--great enough to spur acceptance of offers less attractive than that originally hoped for? The theoretical literature points to an optimal decision rule of continued search until the marginal cost of search is equated with the marginal benefit of such activity. Is the marginal cost of search-- financial, psychological, emotional--so great as to preclude search beyond the first offer? Are search and employment at all mutually exclusive? If the average jobseeker spends relatively few hours a week in search and uses informal methods such as contacting friends and relatives, might present employment be viewed as an intermediate step, a haven from which to continue search activities?
9. Job search methods differ significantly by industry, skill level, and occupation. Some industries and occupations have created their own job-search/recruitment mechanisms. In other cases, it is the size of firms or the average education of the employee which makes the difference.

Lessons for Job Search Training Programs

The empirical literature suggests a number of general concepts that can be usefully taught in job search assistance efforts.

1. Job seekers in general, and minorities in particular, have limited information about the availability, location, and characteristics of jobs [71, 195, 255]. Research indicates that such information is positively correlated with job search success. Thus, the research suggests that job search training programs should provide jobseekers with job market information. Whether acquaintance with the job opportunities of given job classifications is sufficient or

whether a more involved labor market component is warranted can only be determined through further research.

2. According to the literature, job search assistance programs should be structured so as to encourage the spending of more time in search. Job search, like any job, should be treated as a major and non-casual endeavor. Beginning search early, searching intensively, and being aggressive rather than passive in search, are all empirically tested characteristics of a successful job search strategy. Many jobs have been found at organizations not displaying a Jobs Available sign. The empirical literature would dictate encouraging program clients to use all search methods, to explore both intensively and extensively.

3. The research suggests that jobseekers need to be aware of the differences in the quality of information available from different sources. The choice of job search medium is an important determinant of the likely sources of job search. The various methods produce different types and quality of information; and tradeoffs exist between informational inputs which are, in effect, purchased from institutions and those inputs purchased through the use of one's own time.

4. The value of information contacts should be stressed. A major study [122] found informal contacts "paying off" by creating jobs that had not previously existed, and by job offers being made without the offeror even knowing if the individual was seeking work. Jobseekers should be taught how to tap into the productive resource; how to profit from the flow of job market information which is transmitted as a by-product of other social processes.

Recruitment and Selection Studies

Much less is known about the recruitment techniques of employers than the search behavior of jobseekers. The literature is heavy with studies of interviewing practices, though these studies are almost universally conducted in relation to white collar occupations. The use of application blanks and their equal employment opportunity implications, discrimination in hiring, reference checking, etc., are also thoroughly studied but few have attempted to describe or model how employers seek and select among workers.

One study dedicated to determining which of 600 employees in 20 cities used the public employment service and why, also determined their relative use and results from other alternative recruitment sources [87]. Table 6 summarizes those findings, with success defined as the proportion of contacts which resulted in at least one hiring. Only the use and services of newspaper want ads seemed to be inconsistent with the results on job hunter's search methods. Studies of employers in Detroit; Hartford, Connecticut; and Winston-Salem, North Carolina identify the preferred recruitment methods as being: 1) current employees; 2) direct application, walk-ins, and gate hires; 3) personal contacts and references, followed by either closed systems, want ads, and private or public employment agencies depending on the study [98, 181].

A Useful Model. Drawing on the job search literature and many years of experience in the public employment service, Miriam Johnson has formulated what she refers to as a bifocal view of the labor exchange process [146, 244, 245]. Her model was developed primarily from the supply side of the labor exchange process, though she had and used also the demand data cited above. By examining how people look for and find work, she hypothesizes how employers must have sought workers. The model can be visualized as two triangles composing a parallelogram (Figure 1). The inverted triangle represents the methods by which employers broadcast vacancies to potential workers while the upright triangle represents the ways in which the audience of potential workers hears the employers' broadcasts. The increasing width of the broadcast levels represents methods more widely used by the employer, while the width of the audience levels indicate the size of the audience hearing the announcement. Employers are more concerned with avoiding the risk of choosing the wrong employee than they are with the risk of overlooking a desirable employee. Given a choice they prefer to recruit from among the sources closest and most familiar to them. Hence they broadcast vacancies to the most limited market apt to produce the needed workers and turn to wider, less familiar audiences when the closer sources fail to produce. Visually, movement downward on the broadcast triangle is symbolic of turning to wider, more expansive audiences.

Intuition provides the basic rationale for this bifocal model. The same institution which has led to the optimal decision rule of the theoretical search models, that search continues until the marginal benefit to search is

TABLE 6. RECRUITMENT SOURCES AND RELATED SUCCESS

Ranking by Use	Percent	Ranking by Success	Percent	Relative Success Rate	Percent
Employees	54	Employees	32.5	Employees	60.2
Newspapers	45	Newspapers	29.6	Newspapers	65.8
Gate Hires	37	Gate Hires	23	Gate Hires	62.2
Applications	34	Applications	16	Applications	47.1
Business Associates	27.5	STATE ES	14	STATE ES	50.9
STATE ES	27	Business Associates	11.5	Business Associates	41.8
School Placement	15	Private Agency	9	Private Agency	60
Private Agency	12	School Placement	7.6	School Placement	50.7
Community/ Welfare	8.2	Labor Unions	4.6	Labor Unions	100
Labor Unions	4.6	Community/ Welfare	2.3	Community/ Welfare	28
All Other	2.7	All Other	1.3	All Other	48.1

Source: Camil Associates [87]

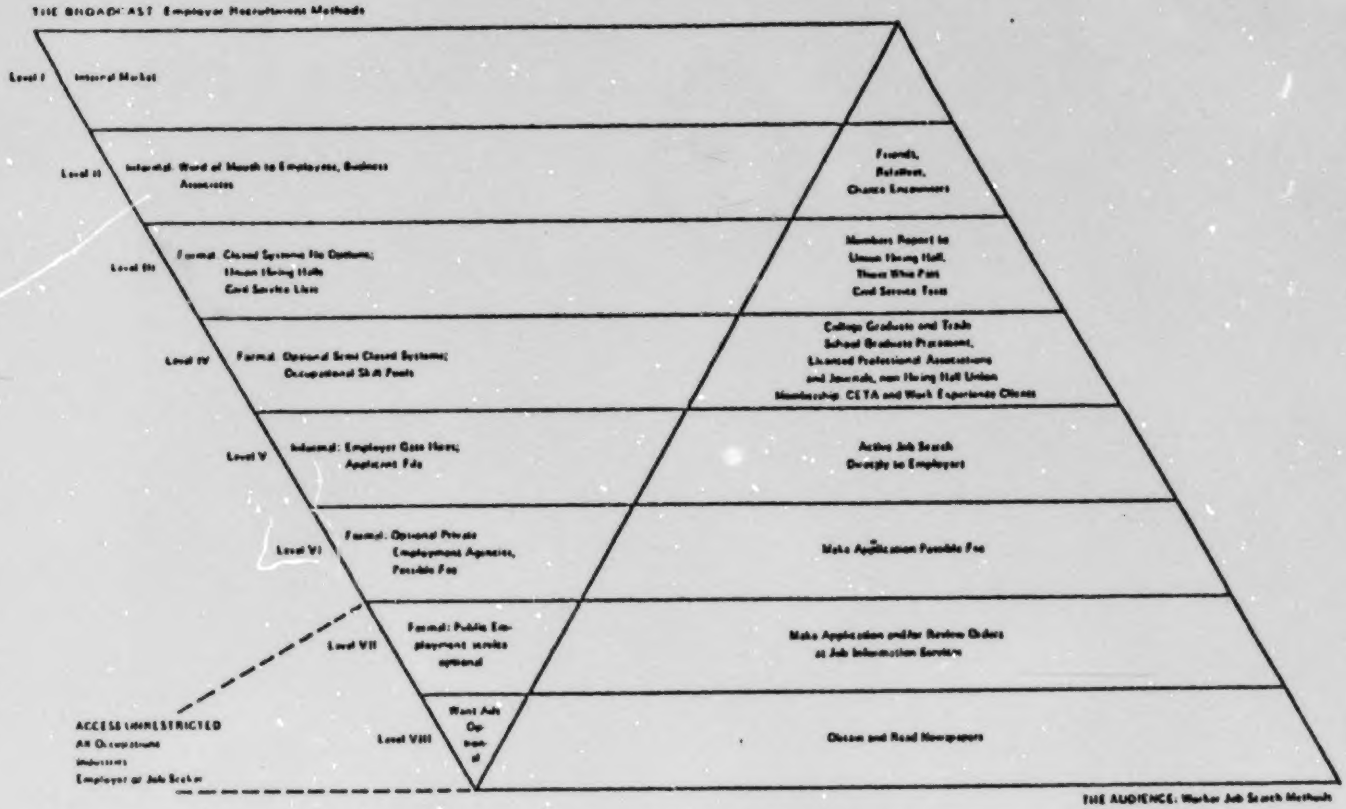
THE BROADCAST: Employer Recruitment Methods
Level I
Internal Market
Level II
Informal: Word of Mouth to Employees, Business Associates
Level III
Formal: Closed Systems No Options;
Union Hiring Halls
Civil Service Lists
Level IV
Formal: Optional Semi Closed Systems;
Occupational Skill Pools
Level V
Informal: Employer Gate Hires;
Applicant Fde
Level VI
Formal: Optional Private
Employment Agencies,
Possible Fee
Level VII
Formal: Public Employment service optional
Level VIII
Want Ads Optional
ACCESS UNRESTRICTED
All Occupations
Industries
Employer or Job Seeker
Friends,
Relatives,
Chance Encounters
Members Report to
Union Hiring Hall,
Those Who Pass
Civil Service Tests
College Graduate and Trade
School Graduate Placement,
Licensed Professional Associations
and Journals, non Hiring Hall Union
Membership, CETA and Work Experience Clients
Active Job Search
Directly to Employers
Make Application Possible Fee
Make Application and/or Review Orders
at Job Information Services
Obtain and Read Newspapers
THE AUDIENCE: Worker Job Search Methods

Figure 1. A Recruitment-Job Search Model

Source: A Bifocal View of the Labor Market, Miriam Johnson. Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, 1978.

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equated to the marginal cost, provides the impetus for viewing the employer as a rational, cost minimizing economic actor. The limited empirical work in this area contributes basic support for the Johnson model of the labor exchange process. A study of limited scale, designed around the Johnson model, provides initial validation of her bifocal view [171]. Important in this study is the finding that the sources used in recruitment vary with the skill level being sought. The internal market was used by 100 percent of the employers nearly 95 percent of the time in recruiting management personnel. Use of this source falls consistently as one moves through the skill levels. Personnel offices and gate hires were used at all levels except in recruiting managers. Informal contacts were widely used at all levels. Closed systems were more widely used in skilled and white collar recruitment than in unskilled. The findings support the contention that private employment services are used most often in recruiting specialized workers [85]. The results clearly show that as the skill level being sought increases use of the public employment service as a recruitment source declines steadily.

Most employers have a strong preference for using informal recruitment methods [87, 98, 101, 181, 217, 236]. For the employer, the hiring of an employee is a transaction and any rational economic agent would prefer to complete a transaction at the least feasible cost. Informal recruitment methods are relatively costless, and more reliable in respect to the quality of the employees recruited. For example, employee referrals constitute a costless prescreening. The extensive use of employee referrals is predicated on the belief that employees will be reluctant to accept the onus of referring people who will not be satisfactory employees [138, 236]. In the only study located of its kind, performance ratings of workers referred by other employees were higher than those of workers locating employment via other methods [138]. Other studies using job survival as the criterion have produced similar findings [102, 195, 236]. Informal recruitment sources such as the re-employment of former workers, the hiring of individuals referred by present employees, and the hiring of walk-ins have been shown to be sources of stable employment. In contrast, newspaper advertising and the use of public agencies are associated with high turnover [120].

Albert Rees by way of supposition [193] and other researchers by way of empirical results [237] have proposed that high wages and high recruitment costs are substitutes for an employer. The postulate is that workers in the labor market have enough information about industrial compensation to know the wage structure of an industry, i.e., enough information to identify the high wage companies. Because of this widespread labor market knowledge, high wage firms search less using fewer intermediaries and using them less often. Low wage employers, on the other hand, are forced to use more costly information channels [193].

Selection Devices

Selection devices and hiring standards serve as a way to narrow the intensive field of search to manageable proportions at minimum cost [98, 193, 217]. Use of selection and screening devices has expanded in recent years and includes numerous instruments such as work applications, resumes, informal interviews, school attendance records, general intelligence tests, knowledge tests, personality tests, reference checks, formal interviews, and dexterity and coordination tests. However, the possibilities of equal employment opportunity violations resulting from culturally influenced selection devices have limited their use and development. The literature indicates that the job interview is the most important device and overrules all others in the actual hiring decision [98, 166, 175, 182].

Applicant Characteristics. Within the interview setting, the impression of the interviewer is generally considered more important than specific courses, grades, and references [108, 154, 166, 206] though both are considered [220]. Work history and job skills are important considerations but usually enter into the interviewer's impressions rather than being treated as separate criteria. Larger, more established firms place greater stress on the recruiter's opinions while smaller, newer firms stress college grades, coursework, and favor specialized training [231]. The characteristics considered most important by interviewers include personality, self expression, expressed goals, and general appearance [108, 123, 132, 154, 166]. No single factor carries more negative connotations in the interview setting than an inability to communicate [108, 231]. Speech patterns and speech characteristics have been shown to furnish cues by which interviewer attitudes have been influenced prior to meeting the individual [141]. Language and grammar usage influence the hiring decision.

The literature on the interview procedure and on interviewing techniques is immense [119]. Unfortunately, this literature is overwhelmingly college/white collar oriented. Reliance in the literaure on samples of college students and graduates makes external validity a concern. Research has centered on such diverse issues as what interviewers look for in relation to age, sex and race; discrimination in the interviewing process; and how counselors can help jobseekers cope with the demands of the job interview. Researchers have extracted lists of positive and negative mannerisms and discussion topics influencing the hiring decision [94, 106, 143, 166, 168]. Some studies have found high grades and organization membership to be significantly correlated with initial hiring [220], while other studies have found students with high grades to have no better chance of initial employment [206]. The controversy raises such questions as whether or not it is ethical or profitable for employers to interview only the top 10 percent of applicants.

Discrimination. Discrimination appears widespread in the interviewing process. The interview is a very human function where one individual is essentially deciding whether the person seated before him is someone with whom he would like to work for the next few years. Human biases and emotions naturally enter the process. Sex more than any other applicant characteristic has been the focus of research [217]. Studies indicate that sexual discrimination prevails most noticeably when the applicant applies for a position where his or her sex is incongruent with the traditional sex orientation of the job [96, 129, 200]. Sex-role stereotypes constitute significant barriers to equal employment opportunity [104, 105, 106, 200]. Some studies have concluded that for males and females receiving identical test scores, females are rated significantly lower than males, reflecting an unwillingness on the part of evaluators to accept scores of females at face value [104, 105, 118, 128, 129, 136, 202, 232, 259]. Other studies have found no such bias [80, 96, 106, 131, 134, 160, 196, 234].

Hiring decision discrimination is not limited to the sex of the applicant. Age discrimination is widespread and constitutes a major barrier to the jobseeking efforts of post 40 year olds [129, 147, 185, 201]. One study found the age of the employer to be a good predictor of organizational attitude toward workers. Younger employers had unfavorable attitudes toward older applicants, whereas older employers held them in a more favorable light [224].

The evidence on racial discrimination is mixed. Some studies assessing hypothetical job candidates find race not to be an important factor [129], while other studies indicate that the race of the interviewer has a profound effect on the assessed performance of black respondents [158, 182]. White interviewer bias against the dress and habits of disadvantaged, minority applicants has been shown to significantly affect the hiring decisions [182].

Much of the hiring discrimination cannot be classified as blatant, overt prejudice. Firms have been shown to rely heavily upon numerous employment tests, many of which are invalidated [98, 127, 182, 249] or for which the standardization for one subpopulation (e.g., white middle class) biases it against another subpopulation [127, 182]. Significant research literature has found blacks to score less well on certain types of written employment oriented tests. While the test distributions overlap, the black mean is significantly lower than the white mean--thereby polluting the hiring decision unless blacks are in fact inferior employees on the average [182, 249].

Purely administrative effects may lead to differentiated racial outcomes in hiring. Two studies have reported a lower proportion of applicants reporting for interviews as the lapse of time following initial application is increased. This is particularly true in the case of minorities--a disproportionate number of minorities drop from the process as delays in being interviewed lengthen [74, 165]. This may reflect a perception of low hiring probabilities or insufficient financial means for a sustained job search.

The Hiring Environment. A second category of factors influencing the hiring decision, along with the characteristics of the job applicants, is the organization's hiring environment: specifically the characteristics of those making the employment decision and the policies on which the decision is made [217]. Hiring recommendations have been shown to be positively influenced by the applicant and the evaluator having similar attitudes [126, 189]. Interviewer personality, manner of delivery, and adequacy of job information have been found to affect the applicant's likelihood of job acceptance [96, 209]. There is no concrete evidence to suggest that race or sex similarities influence the decisionmaking process [70, 104, 202].

All in all, the evidence indicates that decisions about applicants based on subjective assessment techniques such as interviewing are typically unreliable [109, 212, 216]. There is substantial indication that the applicant is evaluated more by comparison to the qualifications of previous applicants than to some absolute predetermined qualification standards [88, 156, 207, 253]. The reliance on subjective valuations is important for it indicates that factors other than typical employee qualifications listed in resumes play an important role in the firm's hiring decision.

Critique

The following points drawn from the recruitment literature are relevant to the concept of job search training:

1. Recruitment and selection are generally undertaken through multiple methods, with employers preferring the informal, less expensive approaches. Recruitment efforts generally follow the hierarchical pattern visualized by the Johnson bifocal model.
2. Organizations rely heavily on informal recruitment methods such as walk-ins and referrals from other employees. They find such sources to yield better results in terms of employee performance and employee survival rates and use the alternative recruitment sources differently for different occupational classifications. As in the job search literature, little can be said about the relative effectiveness of the alternative methods. With the indications being that the informal, non-intermediated recruitment sources yield the best results from the organizational viewpoint, wisdom would dictate that jobseekers should become active rather than passive in their search behavior.
3. Jobs obtained through referrals by incumbent employees appear to represent longer lasting job matches than those obtained by alternative methods. The most apparent strength in this approach from the employer's vantagepoint seems to be an assumption that incumbent employees are unlikely and reluctant to accept the onus of a bad referral. From the job seeker's vantagepoint, job descriptions received from friends and relatives employed at a firm constitute a degree of job information unattainable through other intermediaries, therefore serving as a realistic job preview.

4. Applicant evaluation is generally a two-step process. Step one is an initial screening only and typically formal selection techniques such as employment tests are administered at this point. The second step, upon which the hiring decision is based, is typically a personal interview. Since minorities have been shown to do less well on certain types of employment oriented tests than whites, they may be disproportionately ruled out at the early stages of the hiring process. Preparation for and repetition of standard employment tests as part of job search training activities may improve minority selection chances.
5. Different interviewers confronted with identical applicants are likely to make different decisions relative to hiring. Though used nearly universally, the employment interview lacks validity as a selection device. Interview preparation can potentially aid jobseekers by teaching them to accentuate the positive, ask relevant questions, relate to interviewer attitudes, and minimize negative nonverbal communication forms.
6. The hiring decision is, in significant measure, based on the subjective evaluation of the applicant by the organization, particularly the interviewer. Whereas qualifications such as skill and educational level and work history cannot be improved in the short term, characteristics such as general appearance, verbal and nonverbal skills, interviewing techniques, and resume preparation, can be. Job search training can affect these variables in the short run and aid the job seeker to more effectively obtain employment.
7. The evidence on the effect of sex discrimination in recruitment decisions is ambiguous, however there appears to be ample indication that prejudice is greatest when there is incongruency between the applicant's sex and the job's sex role stereotype.
8. There is little evidence that blacks are widely discriminated against in hiring practices though there is evidence that many employment tests and selection devices may disadvantage black applicants The lack of relevant research makes further conclusions unwise.

9. The users of the public employment service constitute a generally stable set of employers. The majority of employers turn to the employment service only when their informal information channels fail or cannot provide enough prospects. Furthermore, when used as a recruitment source, the public employment service is generally used in connection with other methods rather than uniquely.
10. If employers can substitute high wages for high recruitment costs, the best jobs should most readily be found through informal channels rather than intermediaries. If high wage firms search less, workers hoping to enter such firms must become active searchers.
11. The subjects of the empirical recruitment studies have been typically college graduates and often graduate students. This may impose restrictions on the generalized ability of research findings. Specifically, college graduates--particularly graduate degree holders--tend to face job markets where demand is larger relative to supply than may be the case in other markets. To that extent, the jobseeker may have the choice between more alternatives than are available to less skilled seekers. Given the typical participant in the majority of these studies, external validity is a significant issue.
12. The recruitment literature, like the job search literature, has paid remarkably little attention to the differences in methods used in different sized firms and different industries and occupations. There appears also to be remarkably little research into the use of formal employment applications and resumes as screening devices and the weight given to work histories and to objective evidences of skill in the selection process. How do those factors relate to the judgments of interviewers and how do they compare to personality factors in making those judgments? Much work remains to be done in determining and understanding the employers actions in the recruitment and selection process.

Lessons for Job Search Training Programs

Research appears to have been inadequate to fully test the rationality of employers in their recruitment efforts. They clearly strive to select the best worker at the least cost to the organization, as theory suggests. Therefore, the employer prefers informal recruitment methods due to their reliability and lower cost. However, the weight given to subjective judgments, personality factors (aside from those which would affect performance), and friendship ties as contrasted with demonstrated competence is as yet unclear. Also as theory suggests, realistic labor market information is a valuable commodity. Recruitment via employee referrals improves the quality of information the employer possesses on the new employee and pays dividends in the form of lower worker turnover [113, 142, 157, 251, 252]. From the jobseeker's viewpoint, informal contacts with friends and relatives provides more realistic job information than that attainable through formal intermediaries and pays dividends in greater job satisfaction. Job search training programs should stress the importance of informal search methods and the advantages of developing and maintaining a network of informal contacts.

Labor market information leads to prompter and sounder decisions but it is costly to obtain. Successful job search training programs must reduce the jobseekers costs of acquiring such information. The empirical evidence suggests that knowledge of the basic recruiting practices of employers is an aid to jobseekers. Job search is an inherently difficult, discouraging task. Providing realistic information on recruitment practices can calm the jobseeker and provide the reassurance of foreknowledge of the likely results of the search. Furthermore, a basic understanding of the labor market and concepts such as primary and secondary markets, segmentation, and shelters will allow the jobseeker to view jobs and job offers in terms of career track decisions, promote realistic expectations, and lower unnecessary turnover.

Employer reliance on informal, more passive recruitment techniques implies that the jobseeker must become active in his search if he is to be successful. Those recruitment strategies which allow the employer to remain passive are those that necessitate active search by the jobseeker. The evidence that high wage firms search less, and use intermediaries less, supports the case for active search by jobseekers. Job search assistance efforts must encourage full time, multi-method search.

The subjective nature of the recruitment process invites intervention in behalf of jobseekers. The predominance of hiring decisions based on interviewer impressions, applicant appearance, applicant speech characteristics, mannerisms, and personality rather than upon more job related criteria encourage efforts to aid jobseekers to present themselves in the best possible light. Though job search training efforts cannot alter the basic makeup of the individual, it can rearrange and strengthen the packaging by aiding jobseekers to identify and accentuate that which is positive in their past; to identify job related skills; to express and present themselves in a forthright, pleasant manner; and to know where each wants to go in life and give directions for reaching such goals. Job search assistance should strengthen the jobseeker in those areas which are germane to the hiring decision and which are easily manipulated over the short term. Such efforts will permit jobseekers to become more sure of themselves, more aggressive in their search efforts. Accentuating what is positive in the individual may reduce unfair discrimination in a process which is perhaps inherently discriminatory by minimizing the more blatant, stereotypic characteristics upon which many minorities are judged.

At the same time, one must reserve judgment as to the extent to which lasting changes can be accomplished in the nature of either the jobseeker or the labor market. Is the objective to change personality or behavior? Are the limitations in the jobseeker or the institutions? Is either subject to change by a job search program, or should the objective be to align the two without changing either? The research would appear to support modest expectations. A job search training program can, at best, reduce or remove barriers created by inadequate knowledge and misinformation and by poor techniques and skills in job search--but, at the margin, those are often enough.

Interview Preparation

The near universal use of the employment interview, its lack of validity, and its prejudical nature have prompted many efforts to help potential applicants be more successful in the interview situation. Interview coaching has raised ethical questions such as the apparent dishonesty in teaching applicants to present themselves in a way different from their normal style and its tendency to invalidate the interview's purpose of uncovering the applicant's strengths and weaknesses [119]. Preparation for interviews has been justified by research findings that interviewing is a costly, inefficient, and invalid procedure [109] and that interview performance bears little relationship to job performance [172, 247, 256]. An even more straight-forward justification is evident. A demand for the service exists. That the market should respond and economic agents begin to supply the service should not be astonishing.

Efforts to counsel applicants and to prepare them for the interview process generally involves a four-phase procedure: developing realistic expectations; developing interviewing skills; using effective training procedures; and preparing for rejection shock [119]. Realistic expectations involve knowing what types of questions may be asked, understanding the motivations behind questions, the different styles of interviews and interviewers, and the importance of subjective factors such as intuition and stereotype casting in the interview phase of the hiring decision [124]. Interviewing often takes on a negative format with one piece of negative information outweighing a mass of positive information and with the orientation emphasizing ruling out undesirables rather than toward selecting the best candidates [107, 108, 119].

The goal of interview training is to enable the applicant to present her or his qualities and qualifications in the most favorable light, and to minimize any negative impressions unrelated to potential job performance. Appearance, communication skills, and attitudes dominate the research. Attire and physical attractiveness widely influence the hiring process. Extreme dress or appearance evoke almost immediate negative responses. Long hair and beards and short skirts and low necklines have been shown to create negative reactions in interviewers [95, 108, 150]. Dressing conservatively is the overall rule.

Applicant attitude is an important factor in the hiring decision. The applicant must convey interest in the work, cooperation and dedication, sincerity and motivation, and, perhaps most importantly, the pleasant disposition of one easy to work along side [93, 130]. Demonstrating preparation by asking relevant questions about the company, stating personal goals, using terminology customary to the job, and presenting personal strengths while minimizing weaknesses are important stimuli to the interviewer [166].

The literature is rich with studies indicating that extensive role playing situations and videotape feedback are effective interview training procedures [78, 148, 246]. Repetition teaches, and learning is facilitated when the applicant can view his performance and critically evaluate it.

The final phase of interview preparation is that of preparation for rejection. Rejection is common to job search but is never easy to experience. The evidence shows the rejection preparation [253, 259] lessens the shock and mental anguish of hearing "no," restores seeker confidence more quickly, and speeds return to search activity.

The interview appears to be a critical component in the hiring process. The subjective nature of the hiring decision and the interview procedure specifically, makes interview preparation a must for job search assistance programs. Interview practice or preparation can feasibly have a significant impact upon the success rate of job assistance programs. Such programs should strive to develop realistic expectations, develop interviewing skills, give practical interviewing experience, and prepare applicants for the disapointments of rejection shock.

Job Search Assistance

Preparing applicants for the interview process is just one example of job search assistance or training. The recent literature is becoming dotted with studies of isolated attempts and ongoing programs by institutions, organizations, and individuals to intervene in the marketplace and influence the market through assistance to jobseekers. Such programs are proliferating rapidly and generally report impressive successes in the percentage of participants getting jobs. Though the ongoing programs will be reviewed and analyzed elsewhere in this report, some general comments from the literature are appropriate at this point.

Previous Studies

Several of the aforementioned job search studies included job search training components. In some cases where companies were forced to close plants due to adverse economic conditions, employees were given job search training at employer expense. In other cases the assistance came from educational institutions, governmental agencies, private sector researchers, and consultants. Job search training programs, as reflected in this literature, appear to be a relatively inexpensive and effective intervention strategy [253].

In one study [191] unemployed scientists and engineers participated in a series of ten group seminars aimed at enhancing self confidence and self esteem through teaching search methods. When compared with a control group, the experimental group was significantly more successful in the number of interviews obtained and in locating jobs.

A second project dealt with central city unemployment [81]. Central city men were taught to review their employment background for hidden assets, to relate past experiences to future employment possibilities, to arrive at a realistic job objective, to write effective resumes, and to build a mailing list of potential employers. Forty-two placements resulted for participants, seven for the control group. The job search training program was particularly effective in aiding participants in viewing themselves as productive individuals.

Much has been written about the Job Finding Club [75, 146, 183] initially developed by N. H. Azrin in Carbondale, Illinois. Initial success has prompted expansion of this program to an experiment in five cities under the auspices of the Department of Labor. The program is a rigorous application of behavioral psychology principles. Through a system of mutual assistance among job seekers, family support and the sharing of job leads, 90 percent of the club members, compared with 60 percent of the control group, located work at a per student cost of $200. The program, organized as a club to counter the loneliness and despair associated with job search, attributes much of its success to the group effort approach, the use of multiple informal and formal methods, and to the full time job search nature of the club. There is a growing amount of evidence to indicate that active job seeking is a more effective method for finding employment than attempts by counselors to locate placements for clients [84, 248].

Other small scale studies of job search training attempts reach much the same conclusions [75, 77, 81, 84, 90, 100, 148, 248, 258]. For many jobseekers, their own behavior is a major obstacle in their search. Failure to keep interview appointments, poor interviewing habits, lackadaisical search techniques. and defeatist behavior damage their chances in the marketplace [214, 229, 230]. Job search training improves their performance. Realistic advice, full time search, multiple methods, and job previews lessen turnover and improve the job match from both employer and employee viewpoints.

Implications of the Empirical Literature

A few additional conclusions, while not clearly proven in the empirical literature are strongly implied by it:

1. The job search asistance efforts identify a relatively inexpensive but potent intervention strategy worthy of consideration for facilitating job finding efforts and combating the problems of frictional/turnover unemployment.
2. Though the available measures are imperfect, informal (nonintermediated) methods of job search appear to be generally more effective than formal methods. From the employer's point of view, passive recruitment efforts such as walk-ins and employee referrals, seem to yield the most positive results. Methods which are passive to the employer imply active participation by the jobseeker. True to the bifocal view of the labor market, the evidence suggests that jobseekers should be active in seeking employment. Job search should be treated as a full time job requiring full time effort to find a job. Intensive search, use of multiple methods--getting as many irons into the fire as possible--and commencing search early are empirically tested rules for successful job search [75, 110, 117, 120, 195, 203, 204, 221, 237, 248]. Job search training efforts should provide an atmosphere that cultivates full time search efforts, and provide the incentive and mechanisms for such. Without a structured program, few seekers are likely to search intensively. The superiority of informal methods and, often, the blatant inferiority of formal methods, must be recognized. Assistance in effectively exploiting the informal informational networks should be included among training efforts.
3. Informal personal contacts are a major job finding source, a source that must be cultivated. Properly developing, treating, and using contacts is an art that must be learned.
4. Job search is a lonely, discouraging experience for the majority of those who experience it. The success of group job search activities in the research literature is impressive; allowing individuals to bind together in the joys and disappointments of job search seems to minimize the discouragement and isolation of the process.

5. Affiliation of jobseekers with a job search assistance program can provide them with a contact of sorts. Advertising and publicity are expensive commodities for any one individual. Public service announcements on television and radio, newspaper articles, etc., and above all competent operations can provide the program with good public standing and public image. Group identification may facilitate the search of the program's participants. Through contacts with previous clients and employer contacts, job search training may be a way to tie applicants, particularly minorities, into informal information channels [79, 101, 122, 146, 148, 151, 152].
6. Key elements of job search assistance should include: skill identification and job choice; efforts to increase self assurance and positive attitudes; instruction in effective search strategies; preparation in resume writing and interviewing techniques; and supervision and counseling support during actual search.
7. Job search assistance programs should include a labor market information component. The literature shows that realistic expectations of the job market and realistic evaluation of one's abilities are important items in well adjusted, successful job search [86, 88, 113, 142, 159, 218, 219]. Knowledge of the labor market facilitates search. An understanding of the role of various intermediaries, the procedures involved in employment recruitment practices and the difference between primary and secondary labor market dimensions can remove much of the anxiety of search and help the seeker initiate well informed search for career oriented employment. Labor market exposure broadens horizons.
8. The interview is a widely used selection device. The hiring decision is often based on the interviewer's subjective feelings toward his brief experience with the applicant [94, 96, 166, 207, 217]. Consequently, interview preparation constitutes an important component for job search assistance. Through mock interview role playing, accentuation of the seekers positive attributes and minimization of negative speech and dress indicators, interview preparation is a must in job search assistance efforts [108, 119, 141, 154, 166].

9. The subjective nature of the selection process multiplies the importance of self confidence and a positive self image on the part of the jobseeker. Empirical studies support the contention that those who are the most aggressive and who feel good about themselves are more successful in the job hunt [104, 110, 153, 191, 214].
10. A majority of employers turn to the public employment service only when their informal, more passive, information channels fail or cannot provide enough prospects. Logically, then, a significant share of the job openings listed with the service will be undesirable, low-paid, high turnover jobs. Seekers limiting search to the employment service and want ads are limited to a subset of the total openings, a subset uncharacteristic in pay and skill level of the average opening. Job search training programs must train individuals to penetrate what has been called "the hidden job market."
11. The seeming ineffectiveness of public employment service placement efforts, the confusion over defining its primary role, and the growth of competitive intermediaries raises the possibility of redefining the role or services of the employment service. Perhaps the employment service's most productive role could be that of a forum where jobseekers could receive effective job search training according to their individual needs.
12. Evidence exists of discrimination in the hiring process [176, 182, 185, 190, 200]. While selection is the process in which the employer discriminates between individuals in choosing employees, unfair discrimination--the effect of any practice that results in one person being treated differently from another of equal ability--must be combatted. Job search training can aid seekers to minimize discrimination through modified behavior or appearance, attitudinal changes, and so forth, and through its institutional connections, can serve as a forum for handling cases of overt discrimination.
13. Efforts in skill identification may be a neglected but important tool in helping individuals to locate meaningful, stable employment. Personality and skill endowment are major components of

the individual's identity. Identifying skills through the review of past experiences is perhaps the first step in helping the individual to locate an appropriate and fitting job. In addition, having a purpose or sense of direction breeds added incentive, enthusiasm, and assertiveness--all characteristics of successful job search.

CHAPTER III

The Commercial Literature

In contrast to the theoretical and empirical literature designed to primarily report research results, a commercial literature designed primarily to meet a market demand has experienced an almost explosive growth in recent years. Some of the literature has the primary purpose of appealing to the book-buying reader, while other contributions to the literature were prepared, in part at least, as support materials for tuition-supported seminars and paid consultancies. While the theoretical and empirical bodies of literature yield important findings and implications for the individual jobseeker and for public policy, it is the commercial literature that is readily accessible to the typical jobseeker. Tradition, personal and peer experience, and the commercial literature are perhaps the main influences upon the individual jobseeker's choice of job search behavior.

To determine what the commercial literature can do to aid those assigned to design and implement successful programs of job search training, it is necessary to analyze the advice given the jobseeker by this literature and to identify the similarities and differences between what is taught commercially and that which is empirically substantiated. Relevant to this exploration are the queries:

1) Who are the authors of the commercial literature?
2) To whom do they address their advice?
3) What do they perceive to be the fundamental problem?
4) What assumptions do they make?
5) What goal do they state?
6) What strategy and philosophy do they expound?

Responses to these questions will provide clues as to how to design and implement programs to teach successful job search. The books addressed in this review are those which give instruction as to job search, not those limited primarily to career choice. The emphasis is, "having decided what to pursue, or while deciding that, here is how to undertake the pursuit."

Author's Wellspring

The majority of self-directed job search books are authored by individuals referring to themselves as career consultants, career counselors, career managers, executive development specialists, professional placement specialists, and so forth. By whatever name, many of these individuals tour the country conducting seminars--professional coaching of jobseekers--varying in length from two to five days with fees ranging from $35 to $3,000 [299]. Only the best known of these consultants have authored contributions to the self-directed job search literature. Some of the books appear to be designed for use in the seminars while others appear to be written as a form of aid and motivation for those less able to meet the price or the time and location of the training sessions.

Though one of the profession has said of his colleagues, "too often their motto is let us prey [264]," the popularity of their seminars and books is probably evidence of their success in aiding jobseekers to design and conduct successful job search strategies. This review of the literature is focused on extracting lessons useful for the design and conduct of job search training programs. The relevance of the commercial literature will depend heavily upon the authors' views of the labor market and who they address as their audience. The starting point is to recognize that these books are generally addressed to a relatively well-educated audience who can learn and act based on individual study. The message of the books and the message taught in the seminars is that desired and digestable by those likely to buy or enroll on their own initiative and able to pay the price. Consequently, the commercial literature appears to focus on job search by college graduates, stressing methods through which the educated can locate creative, talent-developing employment. The job search bookshelf is void of literature written specifically to the early school leaver or the blue collar, semi-skilled, or unskilled worker to aid him in finding his place, chosen or otherwise, in the world of work. One can hardly fault the consultant for responding to demand and his own self interest. It is no criticism of the literature or its authors to note that those who may need job search assistance the most are those whose needs are unlikely to be met by the commercial literature responding to the demands of the private market.

Authors come from interestingly different backgrounds. Richard Bolles, author of What Color Is Your Parachute? [264], a Protestant minister, was engaged in campus ministries before entering the commercial job search assistance field and is director of the National Career Development effort of the United Ministeries Project. Several others have religious backgrounds.

some such as Arthur Miller [289] were business executives before entering the business of counseling. Still others like Marcia Fox [274], are career counselors at university placement centers who have had extensive experience in aiding student transition into the job market. Some, like Barnard Haldane [279, 280] and Richard Lathrop [285, 286], had experience in government and public sector career development service projects. Haldane established the nationwide counseling firm which bears his name. Lathrop heads the National Center for Job Market Studies. These are but a few examples of the diverse backgrounds of the authors of the self-directed job search literature. Despite that diversity, each has been associated personally and vicariously with the traumas and discouragements of job search, has become convinced that the job market functions inefficiently, and has developed means for aiding individuals during the job search periods of their lives. Their successful operations would appear to testify to their ability to motivate and assist an important portion of those engaged in job search.

As a group, their concern for the individual appears genuine. For those who have gained prominence, their's is a lucrative field but the financial rewards come from meeting human needs. Evident in the backgrounds of several is a shared religious commitment, whether or not they have served in the ministry. Emphasis is often placed on aiding the individual to discover who he is, to allow him to determine what God wishes him to be--"to find his eternal design [288]." Even those who give no evidence of religious connections exhibit a humanistic commitment to the basic goodness of mankind and to the intrinsic value to the individual of meaningful work. Though the extent of the argument varies, as we will show, the emphasis is on aiding the job-seeker to find a good and fulfilling job rather than just a job. Job satisfaction is considered essential to happiness. The job seekers have the talents and resources to find or create such meaningful jobs if they will only follow the formula. This orientation affects the general philosophy projected by the literature.

Finally, the past experiences and backgrounds of most of these authors led them to emphasize and perhaps exaggerate the relative lack of job search assistance in this country. Perhaps Bolles best summarized the general feeling in saying:

> The whole process of the job hunt in this country is Neanderthal. In spite of the fact that nearly every adult American man, and presently some 45 million women have been or will be involved in the job hunt at some times in their lives, we are condemned to go about the job hunt as though we were the first person in this country to have to do it . . . Our "system" condemns man after man and woman after woman to go down the same path, face the same problems, make the same mistakes, endure the same frustrations, go through the same loneliness and end up either still unemployed . . . or what is more likely--underemployed, in the wrong field, at the wrong job, or well below the peak of our abilities [264; pp. 6-7].

The severity of their indictments of the status quo range from mild disgust accompanied by ideas for working within the present system to passionate outrage and demand for radical change. These perceptions are reflected in the basic philosophy of the authors and consequently their advice to the individual searching for employment.

Philosophy

There are basically two philosophies, or views of reality about the labor market and the ways people find jobs that emerge from the commercial literature. Common to both philosophies is the belief that there is a bustling economy out there in the world, with lots of vacancies and with new jobs being created daily. The first philosophy emerges directly from the empirical literature and teaches that people find jobs by using as many methods as they can--personal contact, the public employment service, community organizations, and so forth, and that hard work will eventually pan out for the individual [267, 268, 269, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 281, 289, 294]. The second philosophy also stresses hard work but advocates rejecting the standard institutions and channeling one's efforts to more productive search methods. Fundamental to this philosophy is the feeling that all formal methods are relatively ineffective, have low success rates, and constitute little more than a numbers game in which the odds are badly against the seekers [264, 265, 266, 272, 279, 280, 283, 284]. Proponents of this view consistently maintain that something like 85 percent of the job openings or employment needs which exist on a given day are not advertised in public media [264, 284, 286]. Their view is that those openings seen by the public eye are predominantly left over, dead end jobs. Consequently, this second philosophy advocates ignoring formal intermediaries, and concentrating on informal methods and contacts as the main mechanism by which to locate good jobs.

The commercial literature places major emphasis upon individual aspirations and skill identification. The unspoken philosophy is that the individual must choose what he wants to do with his life, and go after it. The literature implies a firm belief that opportunities are open to all and that the missing element in finding a good job is to identify one's true desires from within. Once you think it, you are on the road to becoming it.

The prescribed steps in the process of skill identification and job search will be described later, but the essential point to be made here is the philosophical reliance on the power of self. The vast majority of authors make little reference to the labor market, promote little understanding of labor market concepts, and refer only briefly to the traditional labor market intermediaries. The emphasis is clearly on self; on self discovery; on discovering what you are to do with your life. This process of discovery, as noted, sometimes takes on religious overtones--discovering your own design or discovering God's blueprint for you.

> If we examine what a person freely wills to do, we will find embedded in his actions a unique pattern expressive of the person's basic design . . . When you see any person really well suited for his job, you will find the kind of harmony between that person's motivational pattern and the job or role or expressions or form which is being pursued by the person . . . If we will be true to our design, we will move into the right careers. We will find the exact mode or niche or vehicle or mechanism or means to express the unique thing within us [288].

Reference to general economic conditions, fast growth industries, primary and secondary labor markets, stagnating and dying occupations tends to be downplayed in much of the literature, though a few of the best known address the economic issues [280]. The basic philosophy appears clear. The power is within you. Through self-introspection, decide what you wish to do with your life. Then go out and make it happen. You are the master of your fate, the captain of your soul.

The Addressee

The subtitles of the commercial literature indicate a universal audience: "the job hunter's manual," "for all job hunters and career changers," and "the young people's job finding guide." The content denies that universality. The image of the reader which emerges from the pages is that of a white, college-educated jobseeker or an educated reentrant into the marketplace following years of absence due to mothering, etc. Some individual emphasis is given to women and to young people, but the literature is focused upon the elite of such groups. The examples used and techniques prescribed are invariably those applicable to the higher echelons of occupational classifications and social groups. The emphasis on researching for information through exploratory interviewing and extensive library work is more applicable to the higher skilled, higher educated, professional and managerial groups. The procedure frequently advocated requires interpersonal skills and research skills characteristic of an atypical population. The advocated procedure involves a time commitment that may well be untenable for those lacking the means for extensive search. No where in the literature reviewed did we find detailed mention of race; the problems of racial discrimination and recommendations for combating forces such as racial stereotyping. No advice is given for pursuit of unskilled or semiskilled production or service jobs or even of skilled manual ones. The commercial literature is, of necessity, addressed to its customers.

The Problem Perception

Author's perceptions of the problem vary from direct indictments of the system to defining the need to motivate jobseekers. Dissatisfaction with the services of public intermediaries and the conditions of the marketplace prompt a search for alternative systems. Perhaps no one has been more vocal about this than Richard Lathrop, the Director of the National Center for Job Market Studies and author of Who's Hiring Who and The Job Market [285, 286].

> Bluntly stated, the national job market--if it can be said to exist at all--is a chaotic mess. It is highly disorganized and riddled with conflict. It is almost entirely unregulated, has no central communications system, and no coordinating or moderating influence to guide its operations. It presents a bewildering front and few guideposts to people seeking employment. It offers obsolete, inept, and abusive applicant services in such an appalling mix that jobseekers frequently can't tell the bad from the good--until too late. It exploits applicants far more than it assists them and offers the most help to those who least need it. Its operations and services usually cost too much--for both applicants and employers. Its way of matching people with jobs resemble sorcery more than science. It is woefully short of information on its basic stock in trade--job openings. And it has no goals of its own looking toward more efficient operations and lower unemployment rates [285].

Lathrop exhibits limited understanding of the economic concept of a market. He compares the "ineptitude" of the job market to the sophisticated stock market which "immediately advises its constituents of the great bulk of its offerings and how and where to obtain them" and finds the job market lacking in that it publicly reveals only 20 to 25 percent of its openings while the majority are transmitted through the "hidden" job market. Lathrop's idea of a market suggests severe misconceptions and misunderstanding. The job market is "hidden" to those who expect a "big board" type stock market rather than an "over the counter" market. The stock market may not be as efficient as Lathrop supposes. All the stock market can give is the selling price, the equivalent of the wage. One has to go to Standard and Poors and elsewhere to research the prospects of the company, the ratio of the stock price to book value, etc. The stock market is not unlike other markets. Only a minor percentage of all companies are listed on the stock exchange. If one wants insurance, groceries, a job, or stock, one must shop around. Organized competitive markets usually deal in homogeneous products. There is no substitute for intensive search in the case of a heterogeneous, differentiated product. Likewise, if one wants a particular job, exhibiting certain characteristics, one must shop around--search.

Lathrop spreads the guilt widely, accusing public employment agencies of "having never had a significant impact on problems of unemployment" and the employers of "being secretive about the bulk and the best of their openings." The latter charge is of particular interest. An organization needing employees would be in a dire situation if it kept its openings totally secret. Employers may attempt to limit their job announcements to those populations or audiences most likely to respond and provide the labor services sought by the organization. Such rational action is somewhat different from "being secretive about openings."

Continuing, Lathrop says "the job market is riddled with techniques and practices that actively add to the joblessness of millions each year" and that "The government employment agency system adds conflict and confusion to the job market scene..." He seems to perceive the problem as being the lack of a nationalized system involving a federal program to aid jobseekers and rid the country of the "U.S. Employment Service's worthlessness." Lathrop refers to a Department of Labor publication which claims that: 1) The public employment service offers resume writing assistance, 2) it has more job openings than any other source, and 3) the openings are up to the minute listings. "Each claim is false," Lathrop argues. "A private agency making similar false claims could properly be hauled into court for attempting to defraud the public [285, 286]."

While Lathrop's style is the most flamboyant, his basic perceptions as to the relative ineffectiveness of the formal public intermediaries in job search are shared by many authors of job search literature. Bolles and others [264, 265, 266, 279, 284, 286] express concern for the high proportion of job searchers who fall into the "numbers game," using standard search techniques rather than channeling their efforts into effective search. These authors perceive the ennui to be a lack of knowledge of the hidden labor market and of information on ways to effectively undertake productive search in the "hidden" market.

A third group of authors [270, 277, 281, 283, 288, 294] see unhappiness and dissatisfaction with current occupations as the key issue. Inadequate determination of individual aspirations, desires, and skills is often perceived as the major cause of such unrest and identifying those desires is proposed as the solution:

> Each of us can be a so-called gifted person if you identify the gifts you have been given, submit them to whatever training may be necessary, and then employ your gifts in work which requires them [288].

> Your real purpose is to identify the core of your life, the constant thread, the constancy in you that persists through all the changing world around you [264].

Finally, there is the perception that jobseekers lack motivation and that efforts to build self confidence and develop enthusiasm will motivate them to more active, more powerful effort.

> You are not a statistical unit to be told you will fail because thousands of others did. You are unique . . . Stop studying your mistakes; rather follow the axiom--admit your mistakes and thereby indicate your willingness to learn . . . Stop thinking poor, think rich . . . Borrow money if you have to, but think rich. Go after a job that will really challenge your talents . . . Achievement on which to feed one's pride is as necessary to the complete man as income on which to feed his family [282].

> The hardest work you will ever have to do is the job of getting a job. It involves defining who you are, what you want,

> and where you are going with your life. So think of it as a job in and of itself . . . Its worth spending two weeks of your life, or two months, or whatever--so that what you do in those 20-30 thousand hours is something you enjoy and do well and fits in with your sense of a life mission [264].

While some authors isolate their discussions to just one of the above perceptions of the problem, several recognize each of the issues to varying degrees [264, 281, 284]. In no work reviewed, however, is there a forthright discussion of the effects of discrimination, the internal workings of labor markets, or adverse economic conditions as obstacles to self discovery.

The Goal

Overwhelmingly, the commercial literature perceives the goal to be a career position which is rewarding, challenging, talent utilizing, and expanding. The goal is more than a job--it is a good or even an ideal job. The literature recognizes the time involved in locating and obtaining such an ideal.

> The absolute first lesson to be learned in the job hunting process is there are no short cuts [270].
>
> Impatience, the desire to get it over with fast, can cost you and your loved ones many thousands of dollars over the next decade or two, as well as condemn you to a fruitless occupation in which you continually feel undervalued, misused, and miserable [264].
>
> Many books tell you how to get a job. But a job you enjoy? This book can't give you an answer, but it will help you find the right one for yourself [278].

There are exceptions to this emphasis on the ideal job. For example, Boothe, in one of the few books recognizing the needs of nonprofessionals, advocates use of traditional search methods, and states the jobseekers' goal as that of finding the best possible job for the present, given the constraint of the number of listed vacancies [267]. Other authors stress the importance of having employment and extoll the virtues and possibilities of employed search. Hence, they advocate locating any job as a step in the search for a good job. "Your value automatically drops if you have to admit that you hold no job. [264]."

The Promise

The commercial literature is cautious in its commitments. A few authors may promise a job in one to two weeks [267], but, in general, the literature does not overpromise. The message is--"There are no guarantees but if you follow the steps described in this book, putting forth honest efforts, you will be more successful in job search than those utilizing the more traditional techniques." Irish says that two months of effort should produce a couple of quality offers [281, 282]; Jackson and Mayleas claim that 50 percent land interesting and rewarding jobs in a matter of weeks [283]; and others say that it may take a week or nine months, there is no guarantee, but that the end result will be superior to that attainable through other strategies [264, 266, 270, 272, 277, 294].

The Assumptions

The commercial literature makes several assumptions about the job market and its actors. These crucial assumptions include:

1. "He or she who gets hired is not necessarily the one who can do the job best; but, the one who knows the most about how to get hired [264]."

This assumption stresses the importance of learning effective job search techniques. For the well qualified, there is still a further requirement. Qualifications are a plus but the first need is to identify and search out the position one desires; a position which will make full and complete use of one's talents. For the underqualified, the statement implies that a well conducted, innovative job search strategy may lead to a job that the jobseeker would not have dreamed possible. In either case the assumption's message is--"You need what's in this book--continue reading."

2. "There are an enormous number of available jobs and more that are being created daily [281]."

The message is that no matter what the unemployment rate, no matter what the general economic conditions, there are jobs available though they may not be listed. Eighty-five percent of the job openings which exist on a given day are not advertised in the public media [264, 284, 286]. The job openings are hidden and the individual must seek them out and uncover them. Some authors push this assumption even further. One faction maintains that significant numbers of jobseekers can and do find work where no job vacancy existed

[119, 264]. In effect, these seekers succeed in getting others to create jobs for them.

> The average job hunter is almost sure that job hunting consists of unearthing jobs which someone held before, and which are now vacant . . . It rarely occurs to him or her that if, instead, you select the organizations or companies that interest you, and do enough research to unearth their problems, that they may be perfectly willing to create a new job, for which no vacancy exists just because ultimately they all will save money by so doing [264].

A significant number but only a minority of the commercial authors push this assumption less far and maintain that most openings or vacancies are listed or available [267, 277]. The majority holds that jobs are readily available but hidden from the public view, that formal labor market intermediaries are ineffective, and then advocate procedures for unearthing these openings.

3. Implicitly the commercial literature assumes that the supply and demand for good jobs are equal. The barriers are personal and not external [270, 283, 294]. The literature overwhelmingly ignores recessions, local labor surpluses, and market phenomena such as discrimination [270, 272, 294]. With the exception of a few direct indictments of the system [289], the authors seem to be saying that it's the individual's actions and personality that prevent him or her from finding the desired job. By reexamining oneself and by rechanneling one's efforts, a desirable niche in the working world can be found.

4."Discard the notion that employers know what they're looking for when they hire someone. It is an unusual event when a boss can clearly lay out all of the critical requirements of a job [288]."

It is in extrapolating from this assumption that the commercial authors derive the search strategy of selecting organizations that interest one, researching extensively for their problems, approaching them with proposed solutions, and eventually having firms create positions for the individual. The literature does not address the question, "Could this strategy be pursued with success for all job seekers simultaneously or only uniquely by the unusual individual?" Neither does the literature discuss whether this unique job creation process can work for a lathe operator, a machinist, an assembly line worker, a short order cook, or a waitress as well as for an executive. This narrowing of the audience is implicit in some of the critical assumptions the authors make about the market; and these assumptions may very well lead to suggestions for search strategies that are inappropriate for the typical jobseeker.

5. The commercial literature assumes an unstructured market in terms of technological requirements. The emphasis is on jobs in the managerial, professional, or sales areas, unconstrained by technological requirements. Consequently, one finds little or no reference in the commercial literature to assembly line workers, skilled craftsmen, or other occupations structured by production processes. This emphasis limits the generalizability of much of the job search advice given but accords with the continuing trend of the economy toward service and white collar jobs. It also influences the literature's view of the need for labor market information. Most of the commercial literature devotes little space to exploring or motivating the individual to explore information on industrial trends and outlooks, potentially emerging occupations, and so forth, while making job choices. Consistent with the other assumptions, the literature's emphasis in career choice is on the individual discovering his or her design, desires, and skills. Implicitly, the demand side of the market is assumed to automatically include a position for the individual who has in reality found his true design. An important exception to this is Jackson who, in one of the most popular works of the genre, devotes considerable space to economic and labor market issues, though still addressed primarily to the upper rungs of the occupational ladder [284].

The Strategies

Two strategies emerge from the commercial literature and can be closely identified with the two philosophies described earlier. These have points in common as well as basic differences. Both approaches stress the importance of self discovery and self assessment. Both offer similar advice on writing resumes and on preparing for and participating in interview situations. Their differences are somewhat more institutional. One strategem is to completely ignore traditional labor market intermediaries and to conduct the entire search personally. Advocates of this approach stress the concept of the hidden job market and processes by which jobseekers in effect create their own jobs. Authors and consultants who advocate this approach are self designated as "the creative minority" [264, 272, 280, 283]. The other stratagem acquires more of a "play by the rules of the game" reputation and encourages jobseekers to make active use of all labor market intermediaries, both formal and informal, in their search efforts [275, 277, 289, 294]. The essential difference in emphasis between the two strategies seems to lie in a subtle divergence between the terms "hidden job market" and "informal contacts." These terms are frequently used interchangeably but their differences soon become apparent in application. The practical differences emerging from the two philosophies can be sharpened by describing a general search strategy, differentiating between the two approaches at relevant points.

The General Framework

The commercial literature treats job search as a component of a personal search for happiness and life satisfaction. The job is seen as a fundamental contributor to a person's state of mind and self concept. The literature encourages the individual to seek for a career environment conducive to happiness. The procedure is essentially to have the individual determine what lifestyle he or she desires and then to choose a job that fits that lifestyle. The goal is a "right" job of which the individual might say, "my job is what I would gladly do for nothing if I could only afford to [281, 282]."

Self and Occupational Assessment

The first step in this process is for the individual to decide exactly what he wants to do and where he wants to do it [264, 277, 283, 294]. However, reviewed here are only works that carry those decisions forward to actual job search. This is not a review of the career choice or career development literature.

Involved here are really two explorations. The first is that of self. This is the process of identifying those skills and personality traits that have been a part of everything enjoyable and worthwhile that the individual has done in his life.

> People begin life with a specific design that remains consistent through life . . . There is nothing of substance that can be taken from or added to the pattern. . . .We can change who we are but we do not change our basic selves [288].

> You have got to know what it is you want, or someone is going to sell you a bill of goods somewhere along the line that can do irreparable damage to your self esteem, your sense of

> worth, and your stewardship of the talents that God gave you [264].
>
> Your real purpose is to identify the core of your life, the constant thread, the constancy in you that persists through all the changing world around you [264].
>
> You know more than the employer does about yourself. But you have been trained by certain traditions to avoid being aware of the knowledge you have . . . If employers want to use your future, then you need to know which of your skills are likely to help you achieve the future, help you grow, help you to enjoy life. When you have that knowledge, you have job power [280].

The commercial literature suggests that identification of this core of one's life is a vital step in the job search process. The prescribed method of doing so varies between authors but centers on exploring one's past life, identifying past experiences that one views as achievements, and then beginning to look for the common preferences and skills that dominate these events.

> In coming to know your achievements and in coming to know yourself, you come to know what you are good at. Once that is accomplished, you won't have to be told to have confidence in yourself. You'll already have it [280].

The authors typically provide exercises for exploring the past and list factors or threads that can be found in situations. Through comparison of the individual's common threads to these master lists, the individual is able to determine what one author refers to as the individual's "success pattern" [280]--those skills and circumstances that bring the individual the feeling of having done something well and of having enjoyed doing it.

> Your interests, wishes, and happiness determine what you actually do well, more than your intelligence or aptitudes [264].

This exploration leads to a second, the search for the occupation or occupations where one's unique combination of temperament and aptitude would be best matched to the unique demands of the job.

> Researching your skills involves trying to discover what different kinds of careers (constellations of skills) are open to you, and then arranging these in order of priority according to what you enjoy most [264].

Irish [281, 282] refers to this as a process of matching key "flair factors" of the job to the "flair talents" of the individual. Involved in this process is library research, use of the Dictionary of Occupational Titles, and other resources, all for the express purpose of finding jobs which match the individual's motivational pattern. The emphasis here is on identifying the right job. The often used analogy is to view job search as a kind of matchmaking. Just as in marriage, it is relevant to remember that whom one marries is of some importance.

It is important to note here that Bolles and those of the "creative minority" view this process of self assessment as the almost sole determinant of one's desired occupation. The implicit view is that "chances are you will succeed if your whole heart is in your dream [264]." Those, such as Greco [277], espousing extensive use of the more traditional and formal and informal methods, tend to place greater emphasis on the value of labor market information. Greco [277] includes a section in his book on how to acquire knowledge of industries such as long run trends, job opportunities, new advances and directions, and economic trends and conditions affecting an industry and its jobs. This more traditional strategy recognizes factors on the demand side of the labor market, whereas Bolles and the advocates of the hidden job market concept concentrate on the supply side of the market.

Interviewing

> We believe you will improve your effectiveness and your sense of yourself as a person 300% if you can learn to think of yourself as an active agent helping to mold your own present environment and your own future, rather than a passive agent, waiting for your environment to mold you [264].

Members of "the creative minority" advocate what Bolles has termed "the laser beam approach" for they visualize the real situation as being one in which there are just too many jobs out there. Trying to approach each potential offer, shotgun style, is dismissed as only diffusion of energy and effectiveness. In the laser beam approach, the first step after self assessment and skill identification is to determine what area of the country you wish to live in and then to identify your personal skills on the highest realistic level.

> The higher the level of skills that you can legitimately claim--the less these kinds of jobs are advertised or known through normal channels . . . Because the opportunities for the higher level jobs are harder to uncover, the higher you aim, the less people you will have to compete with for that job [264].

Bolles and others [264, 266, 272, 283] suggest jobseekers get acquainted with the industry and geographical region they select through a device which Irish has termed the informational interview [281, 282]. The informational interview is seen as the first step in a two-part interview process. In the information interview the jobseeker is the screener while the employers are being screened. The jobseeker is encouraged to look the employer over, trying to decide which employment situation has the desired attributes [264, 270] but must not ask for a job. The second step of the process is when the jobseeker returns to seek an interview for an actual job after narrowing and focusing among the possibilities.

Advantages to the informational interview exist in addition to the obvious one of collecting information on the organization and the job.

> The worst way to build contacts is to begin by asking for a job. Ask a man for his advice, you compliment his good judgment. When he gives advice he has a personal interest in you and will want to follow your progress . . . You must be remembered in order to be recommended [279].

Besides beginning to construct an informational network of personal contacts, the informal interview allows the jobseeker to gain the identity of and perhaps contact with the individual at the appropriate management level who has the real power to hire. The informational interview "creates a situation where you and the man or woman with the power to hire you for a position you want, can get a look at each other without having to make a big decision [264]."

The Hidden Job Market

While allowing the hiring executive to window shop without the pressure of having to make a final decision, the informational interview is essential to the key step in the "creative minority's" search strategy. It is this step that is the essential difference between the two search strategies and the key to unlocking the door to the "hidden job market." The "creative minority" suggests that during these interviews with the organization that the seeker has chosen, its competitors, and others in the community, the jobseeker attempts to identify problems or possibilities within the organization.

> You don't need to discover the problems of the whole organization; you only need to discover the problem that is bugging the man who has the ultimate power to hire you [264].

The next step is for the seeker to use his talents and research time to seek out answers, partial or total, to these situations. The jobseeker then approaches the decisionmaker in the second phase of the interview process, presents his research and ideas, and motivates the decisionmaker to create a position in the organization--even if the position didn't exist before.

> If you select the organizations or companies that interest you, and do enough research to unearth their problems, they may be perfectly willing to create a new job for which no vacancy exists just because ultimately they all will save money by doing so [264].

These quotes illustrate a view of a hidden job market in which the job is not only hidden from the public view, it is hidden from the internal view and even from the person who must create it. In this context, hidden job market jobs come into existence only when the job seeker stimulates the minds of people with the authority to hire by pointing out previously unperceived possibilities. The idea is to give the employer an actual demonstration of one's skills, so that he sees one's worth and moves institutional barriers to create a position. The literature appears to visualize application of the technique primarily in the professional and managerial job market. A job-seeking advertising agent winning a previously non-existent position through the creation of a marketing plan for an agency's major account is a common motion picture plot. At a lower level one might propose a role as a materials expediter in a production process. The literature does not conceive of a lathe operator, for example, emerging with a job following research into solving an organizational problem. The difference is in the technological nature or structure of the job. The creation of new positions via the informational interview process appears applicable only to a limited range of occupations, but it may be successful for a few with the required imagination and persuasiveness.

However, while this appears to be the most frequent implied definition of the hidden job market in the literature, it is not the only one. In fact, Jackson who was apparently the coiner of the phrase, uses it quite differently as "job openings or employment needs which exist on a given day and are not advertised in the public media [280]." This view implies an assumption that all job openings ought to be listed in some publicly accessible medium and that, therefore, those which are not are, in some sense, hidden. Since most employers do not choose to list their vacancies, it is not surprising that Jackson estimates that figure to be 80 percent [284] and Lathrop 75 percent [286], though their definitions of the hidden market term are not as precise. If one uses the Jackson definition, the BLS study shows the formal listing intermediaries of want ads, the public employment service, private employeemnt agencies, school placement services, federal/ state and local civil service agencies, union hiring halls, and professional journals as the source of 31.4 percent of all jobs obtained [243] leaving 68.6 percent to the informal unlisted sources. The best estimate of the jobs developed which did not exist until the jobseeker contacted the employer is found in Granovetter [122]. He found that 35.3 percent of his professional, technical, and managerial sample obtained jobs which had not previously existed. Thus the hidden job market does exist and is a useful concept but only if more carefully defined than most of the term's users have bothered to do.

The Traditional Approach

There is a subtle difference between the concept of the "hidden job market" as most generally used and "informal contacts" though they are frequently used interchangeably. The most frequent use of the hidden job market concept in essence says: "There are potential job opportunities out there that no one knows about yet. If I can get myself in the door, identify an organizational need, and take steps toward solving it, the employer will see my value and create a new position for me." The traditional approach recognizes the importance of developing informal contact networks but is somewhat more passive in accepting the existing occupational structure. The strategy encourages jobseekers to use all methods available to them, both formal and informal, and to develop personal contacts with and establish access to those in influential positions. The end goal is that of being the first one thought of and contacted when an opening occurs. "To be recommended one must first be remembered."

One approach attempts to provide employers with the incentive to create vacancies to accommodate the jobseeker and his skills while the other focuses on placing the individual jobseeker at the front of the employment line for whenever the employer identifies a vacancy or employment need. While recognizing these differences, the advice offered on developing contacts is identical.

Areas of Agreement

The Interview. In both strategies there are extensive areas of common agreement. It is in these, despite the elitist bias of all of the commercial literature, that there are approaches usable by those near the bottom of the occupational ladder. The interview is one such example. The interview is uniformly seen as the key step in effective job search. The key to the interview is to be what the company is looking for--to be "that next man with the greater promise [279]." Extensive sections of the commercial job search books are devoted to interview preparation including common questions and appropriate appearance--matching the kind of dress with the kind of work, non-verbal communication, image building, comfortable speech, and so forth. It is the interview that weeds out the unprepared applicants. The literature stresses the word "unprepared" rather than "unqualified" for the authors regard thorough interview preparation as being capable of compensating for limited qualifications. Insufficient effort in earlier steps becomes blatantly apparent in the interview.

> You will be at a disadvantage precisely to the degree that you have tried to cut corners in your research [264].

> Only one person in seven knows with reasonable clarity what they want out of life. You can join the rare group when you sharpen and clarify the understanding you have of which skills bring you a sense of fulfillment [280].

Much of the literatures stresses the importance of avoiding the personnel departments of organizations. The qualities and criteria valued by personnel types tend to be far removed from the perceptions and interests of the actual line managers, it is argued. Whereas personnel departments are seen as basically negative screening devices, the literature views those with line hiring authority as being more aware of potential, of enthusiasm, of desire, and more willing to discount the negative in the face of strong positives. "You can only be hired by he who has the power to say yes [280]."

Jobseekers are counseled to be honest in answering but to offer no negative information about themselves. "Let your light so shine but don't attempt a snow job [280]." The literature gives examples of ways to hide derogatory information, such as using a functional resume format rather than chronological to hide periods of unemployment, melting down isolated unimpressive experiences into their skill components, and methods of expressing negative information so as to minimize interviewer bias.

Jobseekers are encouraged to be natural in interviews, to treat each as a learning experience, and to look at the interviewer as an equal. To do so the literature stresses practice in answering difficult questions in role playing situations. Furthermore, practice interviews with firms in which the individual is not particularly interested and mock interviews with friends and contacts in decisionmaking positions are suggested. Experience in interviewing helps one to feel comfortable, to act natural, to establish a rapport with the decision maker, and to more quickly develop lasting and influential contacts.

> An interview is a subjective encounter where the interviewer decides whether he likes you enough as a person to associate with you professionally for eight or more hours a day . . . So recognize that personality, presence of mind, and enthusiasm count for a lot [274].

The interview is a personal process. Decisions are made on subjective criteria. The employer has no effective way of knowing in advance whether the applicant can do the job. He only knows whether he likes the applicant on first impressions. The commercial literature stresses these interpersonal aspects and ways of dealing with them. Rapport can be established by exploiting common interests discovered via objects in the employer's office; i.e., trophies, paintings, pictures of his family; through identifying mutual friends and associations; and by determining the interviewer's frame of mind and responding to it [264, 266, 272].

> Your task is not that of educating your prospective employer as much as it is of trying to read his mind . . . Translate your skills into his language and values [264].

Advice to jobseekers preparing for the interview goes beyond the urgings for appropriate dress, showers on interview days, haircuts and nonconspicious perfumes. Some advocate mapping out in advance the course one would like to see the interview take, familiarization or memorization of points one wishes to make, and taking a few minutes prior to the interview just to relax and engage in some sort of self concept building exercise such as writing achievements on a card and reviewing it to reassure oneself as to inherent worth [279, 280].

Every work in the body of commercial literature reviewed stresses the importance of writing thank you letters. This is identified as one of the keys to success, one of the small things that can make tremendous differences in employer responses. An effective letter should thank, summarize the interview, express further interest, and, ideally, draw conclusions or further thought on the items discussed in the interview.

Resumes. Thousands of pages in many books have been written on resume preparation and the most effective way to use them. Advice concerning them spreads from those suggesting mailing copies to lists of employers, agencies, and in response to want ads [263, 267] to those who dismiss their importance as part of a numbers game that places the jobseeker in a situation where the odds are overwhelmingly against him or her [265].

Traditionally the resume has been a summary sheet of the jobseeker's accomplishments and life history. Commercial books, particularly those published over five years ago, contain page after page of examples of standard chronological resumes [268, 269, 270, 273, 275, 291, 296]. The more recent commercial literature discourages use of this format, saying that it is little more than a professional obituary. In its place are formats such as Irish's "functional resume [281]," Lathrop's "qualification brief [285]," Haldane's "Job Power Report [280]," and Bolle's "broadcast letter [269]." Their emphasis is on projecting the applicant's value to the employer rather than dwelling on the past.

> Companies and individuals are concerned about the future--resumes tell of the past. Resumes must be future oriented. They must show that you know where you are going. You want your personality in it, not your professional obituary [279].

In a functional resume the jobseeker states his career objective in the type of work he is looking for and then presents the relevant skills he possesses and the positions he has held under a heading of 'Indications of Potential Value.' Haldane's "job power report" concept is somewhat different in that he encourages the jobseeker to make no statement about the kind of job he or she wants. Since job titles differ in different organizations he advises that stating an objective may limit the employer's perceptions of the jobseeker's skills, and that not revealing the job objective will make the interviewer ask what the seeker wants, and open the door to the interview.

The "Job Power Report," which he wrote for a high school aged audience, consists of what Haldane calls listing of proven skills and talents [280]. The jobseeker is told to be sure he or she can support each claim, to list less developed skills as beginning skills, and to state these skills in such a way as to elicit employer questions. The concept is particularly suggested for new workers who have had fragmented work histories for it allows them to lump these isolated jobs together rather than burying their skills under a suspicious looking chronological listing. Lathrop's constructions for preparation of the "qualifications brief" is one of the best works on resumes and cover letters for jobseekers from high school dropouts to management candidates [285].

Though their formats vary, the authors of the resume literature agree on some basic points. The jobseeker must stress strengths--youth, experience, enthusiasm--whatever sets him or her apart. He or she is encouraged to be selective, to list every relevant piece of information that may support the bid for the job, but not to present an entire life in miniature.

While resume preparation is widely covered, a warning to exercise caution is issued. The resume is an important tool, but it is not a search strategy in itself. Bolles forcefully describes the follies and inefficiences of the "numbers game" and identifies jobseekers relying on resumes as one of its major victims.

> A study of a number of different companies revealed that those companies sent out one invitation to an interview for every 245 resumes they received on average. This average represented a range between companies which consented to one interview for every 36 resumes . . . to companies which sent out one invitation to an interview for every 1,188 resumes received [264, p. 13].

Such statistics have led Bolles and others to discount the emphasis traditionally placed on resumes. The reason is not their lack of potential importance but the tendency of jobseekers to limit their search efforts to such passive activities as mailing enormous numbers of resumes. The resume is an important tool but not an answer in itself.

Asking for a Job. Many of the authors of the commercial literature [265, 266, 270, 272, 280], particularly those basing their approach on the hidden job market, suggest that jobseekers approach potential employers on the premise of an informational interview and that they never ask for a job.

> Like drowning in a river, asking for a job is like asking for help. If you hear a cry but cannot swim, you can do nothing but feel badly. It is the same for an employer with no openings . . . Don't make him feel bad. Never ask for a job [280].

They counsel jobseekers to never ask for a job unless certain that there is an opening because in this way one can not get turned down; one does not have to ask for help; one does not cause others to feel bad; and one can reduce interview tension.

> The executive occupies the most uncomfortable spot in the interview. Whatever the applicant can do to lessen the executive's discomfort, the brighter his prospects [279].

> The system foregoes the depression of one being turned down for a job for the individual never asks for one [280].

In this approach asking for a job comes later. You never ask for a job or accept a job offer at this point. The initial interview is exploratory. The jobseeker looks at the company; the decisionmaker gets a free look at the individual. Contact is established and general impressions are formed. Asking for a job comes after follow up research and weighing alternatives.

Other authors advocate approaching the employer directly and forthrightly answering his questions: Why are you here? Precisely what can you do for me? and How much is it going to cost me [277]? Some of these authors suggest methods for obtaining a fast and positive response from the employer and suggest pushing to get a job offer [283].

The techniques prescribed by the authors are different but the philosophies are similar. Each is a way of expressing to the jobseeker the principle that only the jobseeker is in control of the job search. The first says "You are in control. Approach the employers under the pretext (context) of seeking information. Explore and feel the environment. Don't accept a job if its offered and don't ask for a job. Take the information you collect, weigh it, and decide which employer you wish to work for. Research a problem relative to his organization, find solutions or steps to solutions using your discovered talents. Return for a job interview with the decisionmaker, allowing him to create an opening that accommodates you." The second approach is the more traditional one in that it doesn't hinge on the concept of the hidden job market. But again the literature tries to motivate the jobseeker to be assertive.

> Breaks don't make the man, but a man with a program who knows where he is going can make his own breaks [279].

> You may not be able to find the job that has all that you want. But why not aim for it, and then settle for less if and when you find out that you simply have to. Don't foreclose the matter prematurely [264].

The question of when a jobseeker should ask for a job is a delicate one and the commercial literature is not unanimous in its recommendation. The value of the informational interview approach is not to be dismissed or prematurely limited to those seeking professional or managerial positions. It is seen as particularly useful in the case of young people, new entrants into the job market. Specifically, the informational interview is a neat device for gaining access to the real decisionmaker and avoiding the personnel department. Such contacts are of undeterminable value. Also, simply put, labor market information is a valuable commodity and direct employer contact is a preferable or companion source to library research, etc. Furthermore, after an informational interview, the jobseeker would have the information necessary to compose a well focussed, job specific resume.

If the jobseeker is aware that no openings exist, then the informational interview approach is a means for getting a foot through the door and establishing contact. If the status of openings is unknown, a mixed strategy may be possible, particularly for young jobseekers The jobseeker can initially ask for a job, and upon finding none available switch tracks by saying something to the effect of 'I appreciate that information. I am very interested in the type of work your organization does and serious about exploring a career in this field. I have had some experience and have done extensive library research, but being young I can always benefit from others' perceptions, knowledge, and advice. Could you spare me a few minutes to discuss your perceptions of the future of your business, and your advice as to how a young person like myself could gain entrance into such a challenging and growing field?' The words are not terribly important but the ability to make use of the informational interview tactic while still stating one's real purpose is compatible with the commercial literature's emphasis on honesty and forthrightness [264, 265].

Acceptance and Rejection. The sequence of job search steps culminates in either a job offer or rejection. In turn, a job offer can be accepted, or rejected. Dealing with the negative possibility first, the literature suggests always trying to turn rejection into something positive. If nothing else, doing so helps the jobseeker avoid becoming depressed. Reference is even made to cases where rejection and the manner in which the jobseeker has handled it has led to job offers.

> Accept rejection gracefully. Leave the situation open ended and follow up your interview and rejection with a letter of appreciation [279].

> If turned down, express disappointment, turn the situation around by letting the employer off the hook, and then ask him for a referral [280].

It takes a degree of fortitude uncommon to most individuals to turn rejection into a positive or to at least neutralize its negative effect. The commercial literature holds that if the jobseeker really knows himself or herself and has discovered his or her abilities and potential, rejection loses much of its sting and the jobseeker will be able to respond appropriately to the employer. "Remember, the boss or head you met is under more stress than you are [264]."

Thanking the employer, letting him off the hook for having rejected the application, showing him that his rejection doesn't produce dejection, and asking his advice can often land the interviewer in the jobseeker's camp and produce further referrals. If nothing else, he may remember the seeker next time a vacancy occurs.

Handling a job offer properly can be a more enjoyable, but equally unnerving experience. Authors suggest never flatly turning down or accepting an offer initially but engaging in bargaining strategy.

> Never flatly turn down an offer. Every kind of job offer can be turned into something better, and every starting pay can be raised [280].

> When the interviewer mentions salary ranges take the top figure and repeat it. Say 'Hmmm.' Think about it; count to 30, and look at the person. If the interviewer really wants to hire you, he will raise the offer. After 45 seconds, most people can't stand the silence [299].

The point and emphasis again is for the jobseeker to understand the system and to take an active role in the process. The few minutes it takes to research a company's pay scale, whether by library research, personal contact, or conversations with competitors, can be important in handling the situation when the offer comes and may lead to better offers from the organization or elsewhere by playing offers against each other [284]. Furthermore, every job hunter owes it to himself or herself to understand the system so as to be able to handle the shock of rejection [264].

Group Efforts. A final interesting point of strategy which emerges from the commercial literature is the recommendation encouraging group effort in job search. Several of the commercial works [264, 279, 280, 289, 291] encourage the jobseeker to band with other jobseekers and coordinate their search efforts. The group is seen as an important force in combating the discouragement and fears inherent in the job search process.

> Five major fears hit jobseekers. Fear of rejection, fear of ignorance . . . Fear of what to say at interviews. Fear of not getting a job quickly. Fear of getting the wrong one [280].
>
> Each person has some kinds of excellence, and the purpose is to help each become aware of the skills and talents that combine to make that excellence a reality, with potential for improvement [280].

The commercial literature promotes group effort as a powerful concept. Haldane titles his groups "Job Cooperatives" and encourages the members of these coops to work as a group throughout the job search process [280]. Several reasons for collaborating with other jobseekers are given in the literature. Assessment of individual talents is facilitated by the views and opinions of others. Often others can identify skills that the individual fails to realize. Secondly, a group is able to engage in a greater number of informational interviews and follow up more job leads than an individual. Thirdly, one group member responding to a job opening may not meet the employer's needs but may be able to refer a group member who does. Furthermore, the concept of a job club may interest employers, gain public recognition, and through the actions of past club members become an initial door opener for other club members. Though lacking detailed analysis, the commercial authors advocating the group concept report impressive successes through the procedure.

Summary and Conclusions

(1) The commercial literature assists an important portion of those engaged in job search but is elitist in that it addresses the

higher levels among the jobseekers. The emphasis is upon the well-educated highly qualified worker seeking a professional or managerial position. The literature does not specifically address the problems of minorities, ghetto residents, the unskilled, those likely to be enrollees in employment and training programs or even the bulk of clerical, sales, skilled, and semiskilled workers.

(2) Individual aspirations and talent identification is given major emphasis. The literature implicitly assumes that good jobs exist or can be created for the jobseeker and that the missing element is for the individual to identify his desires and then strive toward his goal. The process of discovery takes on religious or at least humanistic overtones. The philosophical emphasis is on discovering the individual's innate design or God's blueprint for the individual. Reference to general economic conditions, labor market concepts, and industry trends such as primary and secondary markets, fast growth and dying industries, and so forth are largely ignored or left by implication to the information interview by most authors.

(3) The authors can be divided into two distinct groups in their attitudes toward the use of labor market intermediaries. One group advocates teaching people to find jobs by using as many methods, formal and informal, as possible. The second group rejects use of standard institutions and advocates identification and obtainment of jobs through the concept of the hidden job market. Again apparent is the literature's focus on jobseekers able to manipulate the hidden job market rather than those constrained by their own limitations or the technological structure of the job.

(4) These two alternative strategies involve some commonalities as well as distinct divergences. Both emphasize the importance of self assessment and skill identification, interview preparation, and follow up methods. The major difference between the strategies is basic. The traditional approach incurring use of all methods and the development of informal informational networks has an end goal of making the job seeker the first one thought of and contacted when an opening occurs. The hidden job market technique or that of the self designated "creative minority" is for

the jobseeker to research the organization that interests him, identify an organizational problem or possibility, approach the one person with line hiring authority, and persuade him or her to create an opening or position which didn't exist previously.

(5) The commercial literature assumes that success or failure in the job search process rests in the individual jobseeker's hands. Each is responsible for his own outcome. Most indict the present system and the established intermediaries, but whether or not they are in this group, the emphasis of most authors is on overcoming such barriers to reach the goal of career oriented employment.

(6) While traditional job search institutions and methods are persistently derided in the literature, there is no data on the success of the expressed alternatives. The frequently cited statistic that traditional methods do not work for 80 percent to 95 percent of jobseekers is supported by no known source of data and is contradicted by unemployment rates. On the other hand, the advocates of the hidden job market concept and use of other commercially advocated methodologies rely on only ancedotal evidence to support the supposed superiority of their methods.

Lessons for Job Search Training Programs

Despite its limitations, the commercial literature underlines several general concepts and points to some specific items that should be considered in designing and implementing effective job search assistance efforts.

(1) In the upper echelons of the professional and managerial occupations, the shrewd player tends to identify with and learn from a mentor. The graduate student aligns himself with the renowned professor; the junior executive casts his lot with the rising top manager. Loosely extrapolating, the commercial literature is the mentor of the "middle class of occupations." Job search assistance programs must recognize the needs of those they serve. Such programs, through public service, public relations, and proven service to employer and jobseeker can become the mentor of those they serve.

(2) The group concept is an important component of job search training efforts. Literature and seminars can be highly motivational but

motivation dissipates quickly with the depressions and failures of job search. Group job search experience helps maintain individual motivation. The group buoys up its individual members.

(3) Self-assessment and skill identification techniques are appropriate but not essential in job search training programs. Even those job seekers who cannot manipulate the labor market to their own advantage can profit from having a clear idea of what they want in a job and what they can contribute to it. Information interviewing may be an important tool in this respect. Jobseekers need to spend time exploring "what's out there and what can I do" and decide what to look for before starting to search. Proper skill identification can have a substantial impact on jobseeker self image and search success. On the other hand, the jobseeker is not making a life time commitment and any experience is a gain for the inexperienced and may be a step toward the "right job."

(4) A large portion of the commercial literature characterizes formal intermediaries as being relatively ineffective for the jobseekers that the literature addresses. It would be a mistake for those implementing job search assistance programs to discount the standard intermediaries merely on the basis of these statements. The commercial literature addresses those most capable of locating employment without intermediate assistance. Secondly, this literature addresses the seeker of jobs which the employer often does not list with any intermediary. Less self sufficient groups such as those served by many job search assistance programs may benefit from intermediary contact. Secondly, operational contact between intermediary personnel and job search training staff is a potentially important linkage for programmatic success.

(5) The commercial literature places little weight upon the value of labor market information. That does not prove that such information is not desirable, but that the literature addresses a level of job and job seeker for whom knowledge is assumed. Job search training programs may be strengthened by inclusion of a labor market component. Understanding the industrial, occupational and technological dimensions of labor markets; the external and internal dimensions which produce the concepts of segmentation and shelters;

and the primary and secondary dimensions of labor markets can aid jobseekers to identify and seek out progression routes and advancement channels and to plan for movement from secondary to primary market positions. Likewise, a fundamental understanding of the roles of the numerous intermediaries in the labor market can facilitate search.

(6) Job search has a companion process, recruitment and selection on the demand side of the labor market. The commercial literature alludes to a fairly consistent pattern of recruitment practices among firms, but provides no assessment of its diversity or the institutions involved. Familiarity with the recruitment process can relieve some of the anxiety and tension associated with job search and help job seekers to learn the people side of the recruitment process and handle it proficiently.

(7) The commercial literature identifies the interview as a critical component in the hiring process. Given the subjective nature of much employment decision making, and the preponderant use of the interview in selection, interview preparation must be a major component of the job search assistance program.

(8) The informational interview deserves experimentation. The tool appears to have value as a means of collecting information, of bypassing the personnel office, and of establishing personal contact.

(9) The commercial literature largely ignores the beneficiaries of job search training programs. Many of its conclusions would be misleading and frustrating for them. Their horizons must typically be more limited. Nevertheless, there is much in the emphasis on the interview and the need for motivational "hype" which is critical to a successful program.

CHAPTER IV

The Program Literature

by Katherine Silver

The stated purpose of this four part literature review has been to extract information to aid those charged with the responsibility of designing job search training programs and teaching job search skills. With discussion of the theoretical, empirical, and commercial literature behind us, we now focus our attention on the program literature--analysis of workshop handouts and official publications. How does that which is being taught in the program setting--the current state of the art--compare with the information we have pulled from the three accompanying bodies of literature? How consistent are the provided forms of job search assistance with established research results concerning effective job search process? What recommendations for program changes can be suggested as a result of such comparison? The available literature is voluminous and repetitive but not readily available to nonparticipants of workshops. Therefore, only an illustrative sampling of sources is analyzed here.

The Program Literature

Items reviewed included various workshop handouts and official publications. Among these were the following: Job Search Information Training Guide and Merchandising Your Job Talents, publications of the Employment and Training Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor; and various state publications such as Who Gets the Job by the Illinois Job Service and Guide to Preparing A Resume by the New York State Department of Labor.

General Strategy

Tips and Suggestions

The efficient usage of time by careful planning and effective organization is often said to make the difference between finding a job and remaining unemployed. The operational slogan of most of the program literature seems to be "the more the better." That is, it is better to mail out 200 resumes than mail out 50 since the response rate is going to be 10 percent at most. Those that differ with this opinion point out that one wastes one's time, asks for discouragement, and could be more effective by directing the search toward the likely sources of employment. The job seeker is counseled to assemble all documents and needed material in advance and above all else, to be persistent in his or her search efforts.

Follow all leads. No one disagrees with this but many do not point out all that it might involve. As a general philosophy, it poses no problem, but the "how" is rarely gone into in such detail as would make it an applicable approach. The only consistently mentioned way of finding "secondary" leads is that of, after contacting an employer and being told that there are no openings, asking if the employer knows of anyone else who is hiring.

One source suggests a balanced search between "random inquiries and costly long-term planning." This is in contrast to other publications/handouts which do not really inform the job seeker of the consequences in terms of projected length of search of different kinds of approaches. As in all the literature, the planning advice is dominated by an underlying prejudice towards the white collar or professional job seeker. Service and blue collar workers and the kind of information necessary for their effective search is essentially ignored. There is no mention of the right time to drop by a restaurant or the appropriate strategy for visiting construction sites. Sending out 200 resumes might keep a waitress busy, but it is not going to get her a job, and will definitely lengthen her time in unemployment and probably drive her to the brink of suicide.

The need to concentrate the search is stressed and is probably the only suggestion that would apply to all job seekers alike. Job search is a 40-hour a week job and to avoid wasting time, the need for temporal and spacial planning is stressed. Such things as calling in the morning in order to set up interviews in the afternoon, mapping out the city so as to be able to cover all the companies/industries in a specific geographic location, and having an extensive mailing list before starting a mail campaign are considered basic methods to always keep in mind.

Materials Used

In order to facilitate planning, many programs supply worksheets to be used by the job seeker to keep track of and organize the search. Lists of job leads may vary from a simple form that joins together all kinds of contacts to separate sheets to be used depending on the kind of lead being followed, i.e., employers to contact with possible openings, employers with openings listed in want ads, friends and relatives to contact, ex-employers, and so forth. Worksheets also vary in terms of the implied contact process: some are only lists, whereas others may be in the form of checklists with all the different possible contacts such as initial interview date, follow-up, secondary leads, etc.

Perhaps the most confusing aspect of this entire process is the seemingly inherent contradiction between targeting, that is, narrowing down the search by a careful analysis of oneself and the labor market, and making as many contacts as possible. One would assume that the extent to which a job seeker spreads him/herself thin would depend on the type of job he/she was seeking and the level of preparation for that kind of work. However, whether it be in official publications addressed to all job seekers or in programs which may or may not be directed toward a particular kind of job seeker, the concept of different strategies for different people is rarely if ever mentioned. Rather, handouts seem to reflect a kind of idealist philosophy which will not vary according to specific situations.

Finding the Opening

Most handouts do not make any distinction between the search (and all the contact strategy involved) for jobs which are advertised and the research involved in finding out about employers who have not advertised jobs but may consciously or unconsciously have jobs available. Although it seems obvious that each situation requires a different strategy, the tendency is to group these two processes together and call the whole thing "finding job leads." The confusion, then, is two-fold:

a. The gathering of information: i.e., research into potential employers vs. intermediaries who have advertised jobs.
b. Methods of contact.

Sometimes these two aspects overlap as is the case with "walk-ins." Obviously, in this instance, the two steps are one--the process of discovering potential employers will be identical with contacting those employers. These distinctions are not pointed out.

Completeness of information about sources of job information may vary anywhere from a list of five major intermediaries, i.e., the employment service, private employment agencies, want ads, the civil service, the yellow pages, and an eight page list of local resources for finding out about potential employers. This difference would seem to go along with the constituency of the participants or the audience to which the publication is directed. For instance, wherever extensive information is given about "prospective employers" which includes reference materials, the job-seeking population is generally conceived to be of a higher skill level. The next break would be a less extensive job resource list which would include the more obvious intermediaries and resource sources. The next cut would be, as stated above, the most popular intermediaries, maybe mixed in with a few research resources for prospective employers.

Information about Intermediaries

There is some information available about the use of specific intermediaries. As can be expected, information is generally limited to want ads, private employment agencies, and the public employment service. The kinds of information available are as follows:

Want ads: Information on "reading the want ads" was limited to abbreviations and format explanations. In none of the materials reviewed was there any information about "dreams of glory" sales ads, how to recognize an agency ad, or what kind of ad to be suspicious about because of certain kinds of appeals.

Private Employment Agencies: Information on PEAs seemed to be more complete. Most concentrated on methods of payment and going rates. Usually included is the fact that it will cost money but may save personal time. In one handout which was widely distributed, it was stated that PEAs hold approximately 75 percent of available job openings and private enterprise expansion positions.

Employment Service: Very little information was offered on how to use the ES although services offered were described in some detail and services such as Job Bank, testing and counseling services, and LMI libraries (where they exist, mainly in California) are listed.

Relative Importance in Search

This is another area of relative difficulty and contradiction and does in a sense parallel the problems cited in the section on job vacancy information above. Because of the limited scope of this analysis (which includes only the handouts from the programs) it is difficult to correlate participant make-up by job level, overall philosophy, and stress placed on various sources. Certain generalizations and observations can be made, however.

a. Official publications (from DOL or state Job Service) unanimously emphasize the efficiency and importance of using the public employment service. The common appeal is that the ES has: more listings in more occupational categories than any other single source; that its staff knows about job openings, even among employers who have not listed with ES; that there are many local offices conveniently located; that the computerized job bank connects people and jobs within a metropolitan or larger area; that it offers counseling and career consultation; and is free. This is not necessarily to the exclusion of other sources, but the bias is obvious. Official publications also suggest the more traditional intermediaries and by exclusion if nothing else, deemphasize the search for potential employers who have not advertised openings.

b. Those handouts which give extensive information about resources available to find out about potential employers are obviously emphasizing this approach as opposed to the exclusive use of traditional intermediaries. It would seem that this emphasis would be used in a workshop for semiprofessional, professional, or at least white collar workers, but this judgment is hard to make from the information available. No workshop was found that disdained the use of traditional intermediaries as is a practice prevalent in the commercial literature. Certain programs simply seemed to give more information about alternative sources of job leads, i.e., the unadvertised marketplace.

c. Although perhaps not prevalent enough, mention is made about the more generalized aspects to be considered in deciding what kinds of intermediaries to use. The trade-off between time and money is mentioned especially in relation to the use of private employment agencies. In this context it is pointed out that a job seeker, by using this intermediary, is perhaps saving time by not having to do the research but will have to pay a fee for the services. There is also very little emphasis on the concept of levels of competition for advertised as opposed to unadvertised jobs. Just as these two kinds of sources are mixed together without the proper distinction between them, the relative advantages of one as opposed to the other is essentially ignored.

d. Friends and relatives are often said to be "the way most people find jobs."

The Written Word

Most job search approaches make use of written contacts with potential employers, though there is considerable difference in the degree of stress. Preparation of these written documents may or may not overlap into other aspects of the search such as self-analysis in the case of resumes or follow-up techniques as is the case with those documents needed for that purpose.

More than any other single aspect, the relative importance given to the written word in job search indicates the kind of job seeker addressed. For obvious reasons, reliance on the written word depends on the kind of job being sought, the academic/intellectual/verbal/written preparation of the applicant, and the extent to which the search is job- as opposed to career-oriented. The program literature generally seems to prefer the written word to the telephone contact or the direct employer approach.

Besides the overall emphasis on the written word, there are some divergent views as to the relative importance among the written documents themselves. For the same reasons, this should reflect the makeup of the job seeking population. Views may vary anywhere from claiming that the application is the most important single aspect of the search, to ignoring the application completely and placing most of the emphasis on the resume or letter of application. The specifics of these differences will be dealt with when each kind of document is discussed.

Employment Applications

a. Preparatory steps: information necessary to have on hand

Emphasis is placed on the necessity to have certain information on hand and well organized before attempting to fill out an employment application. Sometimes this process overlaps with the preparation of the resume which in turn may be considered part of the self/skills analysis process. Applications are said to cover six general ideas, all of which must be prepared by the job seeker in advance. Advice is to be as specific as possible and some suggestions are made in regard to how to obtain exact dates, names, and addresses if not readily available (i.e., contact ex-employers, etc.). The six areas are as follows: personal information; physical and mental health; educational background; position applying for; past work history; and references. General advice as to how to fill out the application form is usually limited to being specific and giving exact information. The section on work history is said to be the most important. The job seeker is told to list skills and duties not just a job title. Other than that, however, very little specific information is given. The only other advice is that references should be informed that they are being used so that if the employer calls them they will be prepared.

A small percentage of the materials mention the possible existence of a "personal statement section." This is said to be the "job seeker's chance to sell himself." Catch phrases, laudatory remarks, and positive statements are suggested.

b. Step-by-step instructions on how to fill out applications

"Get two copies of the forms;
Print first in pencil;
Check for grammar, punctuation, and spelling mistakes;
Complete all items;
Account in positive way for unemployment periods;
Attach documents with direct bearing on job·
Always put phone number;
Make necessary changes on pencil copy;
Print in ink and keep pencil copy for reference."

There are some other examples of step-by-step instructions, but this is the most common (with slight variations). It is also a good example of a common problem in all the literature, especially with applications. There seems to be, in this and in many other kinds of advice, a contradiction in the level of advice being given. Conceptually, this advice would only be conceived of for someone of negligent intellectual/literate preparation, and secondly a college graduate does not have to be told to check for grammar mistakes. There is not enough information given for someone who really would not know better than to be grammatically incorrect. "Account in positive way for unemployment periods" is fine in theory, but without specific suggestions it is, essentially, useless.

Some handouts such as those in the "California Resource and Technical Guide" give much more complete instructions on filling out applications. Each possible question is reviewed and suggestions made as to how to fill it out.

c. General tips

These come in many forms but can be reduced to a few, basic suggestions, most of which are common sense. The same seemingly inherent contradiction can be pointed out here as in the other sections: some of the suggestions would be apparent to those who could put them into practice while for those that need to be told these things, the information is not complete enough. Among the advice given is the following: Type or print in ink; always be positive; be specific and accurate; always be relevant to job applying for; be careful; read entire application before beginning to fill it out; be brief and orderly; watch for fine print.

d. Areas of possible difficulties and suggestions on how to cope

This area is not covered in most of the materials. At most, the existence of problem areas is mentioned but ways of dealing with them are, for the most part, very general suggestions rather than specific instructions. There are some exceptions, however, of more or less originality. Once again, the problem of audience appears: Who is being addressed and would the information be really useful to him/her?

1. What kind of job is being applied for? List only one job; be specific; don't say "anything."
2. Why do you feel you are suited to this type of work? Be positive!
3. Ultimate career goal: don't be too specific; be relevant to present application.
4. Minimum salary: find out pay scale in company or leave open.
5. Reason for leaving last job: if fired, explain without being negative; use "green light" words that convey the message but do not have a negative effect on the prospective employer.
6. May we communicate with your present employer? Always say yes.
7. Physical problems or limitations: list only those under doctor's care.

8. Arrest or imprisonment: leave blank and explain in interview.
9. Military status: if negative, explain in interview.
10. Employment history: if spotty, try to fill in gaps with volunteer, self-employed.

Only one handout gave a clear and universally applicable suggestion about the possibilities for dealing with possibly negative areas. The job seeker was given the choice to:

a. admit problem exists and describe problem on application
b. leave question blank and explain in interview
c. deny problem exists

e. How used by employers

Not much is actually said about the relative importance of the application in the job search process, but certain observations can be made from the materials themselves. Some of the official publications only mention the fact that the application exists and is part of the job search, but the energies are much more focused on the preparation of the resume. When relative importance is mentioned, the statement is almost unanimously: "The job application form may make the difference between getting the interview or not." It is said to be the "first impression" the employer has of you, and therefore of utmost importance. It is said to be a reflection of what the employer wants to know about you, but that it should be used as fully as possible to tell the employer what you want him to know. There was no analysis of the relative importance of the application, depending on the kind of job being sought. This seems to be a significant observation since in some kinds of searches (i.e., professional, career oriented) the application is balanced by or replaced by the resume or other written documents. For blue collar and service jobs, however, the application would probably be the major opportunity for the job seeker to sell himself.

f. Areas of disagreement--contradictions in the field

The most marked contradiction, sometimes to be found even within one document, concerns the problem of answering questions which in some way reflect badly on the applicant or lead into an area of difficulty better left uncovered. General tips and suggestions invariably state that the entire application should be completed, that no blanks should be left. On the other hand, when specific problems are mentioned, the applicant may be told to "leave it blank."

The other area of contradiction is related to the question of lying. The problem is never dealt with as a moral issue, and when mentioned it is usually by saying that lying will backfire and that employers have ways of checking up on the applicant. Judgment is left up to the job seeker as to whether or not statements could be followed up on or whether certain items can just as well be covered up.

g. Materials used

The materials employed in regard to application instruction include: sample applications, vocabulary lists of words found on applications; vocabulary lists of words to use in filling out applications; red light vs. green light words; lists of legalities; questions that can/cannot be asked; and personal data forms to carry.

Resumes

a. Purposes of a resume

Resumes do not get the job, they only can help one get the interview. Essentially, the resume is an advertisement which must distinguish itself from among the thousands of resumes big firms see every day. They are also described as a tool for helping the job seeker organize his/her search by focusing on skills, experience, etc. (e.g., taking stock of him/her self).

Secondary uses of the resume mentioned are: to serve as a written reminder for the employer after the interview, to save the job seeker and the employers time by avoiding unnecessary interviews, and to establish a focus or jumping-off point for the interview itself.

The information given about resumes, perhaps more than any other aspect of the job search process, should be indicative of the occupational status and educational level of the job seeker. The usefulness or necessity of a resume would seem to be highly dependent on whether or not a job seeker was in the market for a white-collar professional job or a blue collar, service, or even sales job. This distinction is never made in the handouts. This does not, of course, imply that it is not mentioned in the workshops (we can make no assumptions as to the appropriateness of the workshops' emphasis on resumes for its participants since the analysis is horizontal and not site-specific).

b. Definition of a resume

There seems to be no disagreement that a resume is not an autobiography. Rather, it is a very precise, concise summary of your "vocational" self. A resume should answer the questions: Who are you? What do you know? What have you done? What kind of work do you want? Why should you be hired? As opposed to the application, it is what you want the employer to know about you, not necessarily what he wants to know about you (although relevance to company and job is stressed as of utmost importance). The resume should therefore be completely positive, reflecting the seeker's most positive characteristics.

c. Kinds of resumes

The two most commonly mentioned forms for resumes are chronological (sometimes called historical) and functional. The relative advantages and disadvantages of each are not generally discussed. When they are, the chronological approach is suggested for those people who most recently held a job which was related advantageously to the position now being sought. The functional or analytical approach is suggested for those with spotty work histories, or long periods of unemployment.

Other kinds of resumes mentioned very sporadically are "combinational" (mixture of the two mentioned above), "directional" (towards a specific job) or "imaginative" which would include layout and use of display techniques to sell particular skills.

d. Outline of resume

The areas to be covered by the resume which pose no problem of contradiction are: heading, employment objective, work history, education, miscellaneous, and references. Differing opinions about what some of these headings should include will be explained in the section on contradictions.

e. General tips

Those aspects of general tips which pose no problems of contradictory information are, for the most part, those which appeal to common sense: neat, clear, honest, double-spaced, correct grammar and spelling; always include phone number, use active verbs, do not use technical jargon, do not include a photograph, do not use nickname; use good quality paper, do not include salary information, do not include reasons for leaving former employment.

f. Materials used

The most common materials used for preparing a resume are: sample resumes; blank form resumes; data sheets of "pre-planning" forms; vocabulary lists of positive or active words; sometimes lists of phrases which may appeal to an employer to describe oneself in positive terms; resume critique sheet; list of occupations and the skills required to do them (see applications above).

g. Areas of disagreement

In terms of the relative importance of resumes and their role in the job search process, the only contradiction is in terms of how the resume compares to the application. Some handouts and official publications state that the resume replaces the application and some state that it is simply in addition to the application. This, too, would seem to depend on the kind of job being sought and the occupational level of the seeker. However, the materials do not make this distinction.

In terms of the content of the resume, there are numerous areas of disagreement, although for the most part they are not serious. Disagreements are about:

- Whether or not to include references or simply to state that they are available upon request.
- Whether or not the resume should ever exceed one page. All agree that it should not exceed two.
- Whether or not to include physical description. Some state that it should be included only if it would be advantageous in some way.
- Whether or not to include personal information, i.e., family status, children, etc.
- Extent of personal information. Some very emphatically discourage the inclusion of any kind of personal data, i.e., hobbies, interests, etc., unless they are directly related to the job being sought.
- Inclusion of personal statement at the end of the resume was only rarely mentioned as a possibility.

h. Use of resume

There are two main uses for the resume. One is to answer advertised jobs and the other is for use in a campaign after sufficient research has been done to discover possible employers. For the former case, changes are sometimes suggested in the text of the resume to make it more directed to a specific job. For the latter case, it is suggested to make 500 to 1,000 copes and send them to "everyone." This resume should have a more general appeal and contain nothing which would automatically exclude you from being considered in a larger company which may have some job available you did not even consider.

Another use of the resume, somewhat secondary, is at the job interview itself to establish a common focus and to leave with the employer to give him a visual, written reminder of who you are and what was covered in the interview.

Letters

There are numerous types of letters mentioned in the job search literature and each one is supposed to be for a different purpose.

a. Types of letters and purposes

There are letters to accompany resumes and others to replace the resume or precede it. There are different letters depending on whether the job seeker is responding to an advertised job or soliciting a job from an employer who has not advertised. There are slightly different formats for writing to an employer whom another employer has recommended; or writing to an employer the seeker has found out about through researching the market. The different names given to these letters are more or less as follows:

- Letter of application: mostly considered to be like a cover letter that accompanies an application or a resume. Sometimes also applies to the whole body of letter correspondence which could include other kinds of letters that replace resumes or for follow-up.

- Cover letter: This name always refers to a cover sheet on a resume. It should, therefore, not repeat what is in a resume, but simply highlight the resume and very briefly sum up the points which are most relevant to the job being solicited.

- Shotgun, letter of inquiry, letter of transmittal, broadcast letter, tailored letter: All of these seem to be different names for a letter which replaces a resume. The instructions are, more often than not, terribly confusing, for it is not always clear if a particular letter should be accompanied by a resume or not. As for tailored letters and broadcast letters, they are usually said to definitely replace a resume. Shotgun and letters of inquiry seem to always refer to those letters used to contact an employer without an advertised opening.

- Follow-up letters: To be used after an interview to remind interviewer of who you are or after reading resume to bring further attention to it.

b. Content

The content is, of course, dependent on the purpose of the letter: if it is in response to an advertised job or not or whether or not it is to accompany a resume. There are certain suggestions made, however, for all types of letters:

- Address letter to the person who does the hiring (find out his/her name beforehand). Do not address it "to whom it may concern" or the "personnel department."
- Make it specific to the job and/or the company in question. This would of course depend on whether or not it was in response to an advertised job or whether it was a more general letter of inquiry into possibilities for employment with that company.
- Ask for an interview, especially when responding to advertised jobs.
- Always send an original and sign it by hand. Photo copies of letters (as opposed to resumes) are firmly discouraged.

For those letters accompanying a resume, the seeker is told not to repeat what is already in the resume, but rather to highlight those aspects of the resume particularly pertinent to the job or company being addressed.

All letters should be no longer than four paragraphs, and these should be short and concise. Some handouts give specific instructions as to what should be contained in each paragraph.

c. General tips

For the most part, the general tips are the same as for the resume, especially in the case of those letters which are supposed to replace the resume. The only differences were mentioned above: i.e., not to send copies, to make it personal, etc. For what are sometimes called broadcast or tailored letters, information is supposed to be directed toward one specific job or company (as in the case of unadvertised jobs).

d. Areas of disagreement

The main problem in this kind of horizontal analysis relates to the naming of the different kinds of letters. In turn, this creates many confusions as to the content and purpose. However, there seems to be very little disagreement on general points. The only variance is related to length and precise content of the different paragraphs but most of the handouts explicitly leave those specifics up to the job seeker.

e. Materials used

These are much the same as those used for resume planning: sample letters, personal data forms for analyzing self in the case of letters that replace resumes, blank letter forms to fill in specific information.

The Spoken Word

The Job Interview

There is no single aspect of the job search process with more extensive written materials than the job interview. Newspaper clippings which are xeroxed and given out in workshops, articles written by executives and interviewers, surveys of employers, and other assorted materials are all sources of information on how to conduct those "20 to 30 minutes which may be the most important in your life." Almost unanimously, the interview is seen as the pivotal point in the job search process, with all the various preparations leading up to it. It is the culmination of the efforts heretofore expended and that which, finally, will make the difference between getting the job and not.

Because of the quantity of information available and the great amount of different forms it comes in, only a few topics can be discussed.

a. Pre-interview preparation

Preparing oneself for the interview is a many layered task involving principally: researching the employer, preparing oneself emotionally and physically, gathering all pertinent data about oneself, and practicing either by mock interviewing or by preparing answers to possibly difficult questions.

The most common handout for researching the employer before the interview is "homework questions." The main points to research in this and other handouts are: What does the company do? This may include products, services, length of time in operation, competitors, etc. Name of the interviewer. It is very important in the interview itself to address the interviewer by his/her name. What is the salary range of the company? This is so that if salary is brought up, the interviewee will not be too far off base and will know if the interviewer is being straight with him/her. Who is in charge of the department I will be working in?

Preparation of names, dates, etc. is very similar to that for filling out applications and the preparation of resumes. The difference here is that the interview is oral and therefore a simple personal data sheet is not enough. The information must be at the interviewee's fingertips and presentable orally.

Psychological preparation is another aspect mentioned fairly often. This should include "giving yourself a pep talk," "building up your ego," "saying positive things about yourself," etc.

Physical preparation includes good grooming and getting a good night's sleep. Details of good grooming are essentially "how to be middle class." In this, as in so many other aspects of the job search materials, the level of seeker being addressed is somewhat confused. Not enough specific information is given to be helpful to someone who doesn't have "common sense" or "good judgment" and sometimes too much information is given for someone who does. Generally, the advice is to dress conservatively, or in other words, not to make any statement about "who you are" by your physical appearance. Be as neutral as possible.

Preparation of difficult or stress questions is also important in the pre-interview preparatory steps. This can take the form of writing out answers to these questions or asking a friend to play interviewer and spring the questions on you. Often mentioned is the fact that certain questions, although seemingly self-evident, really are much more difficult than is expected when asked questions such as, "What can I do for you?" or "Why do you think I should hire you?"

b. Questions to ask employers

This is one of the most contradictory areas of all the interview literature. The details will be gone into later, but they should be mentioned here along with the other information. Areas to be gone into by the interviewee are:

- job conditions and qualifications
- nature of the company and the job being applied for

- chances for advancement and training
- possibility of getting the job: when will a decision be made?

Areas of contradiction are related to questions about benefits, salary, vacation time, and sick leave. Also some disagreement about whether to ask questions at all.

c. Questions employers ask

There are numerous lists of questions most frequently asked in an employment interview. They range anywhere from 16 to 105 and from normal questions to possibly difficult or stress questions. The more reduced lists usually contain more general and possibly more difficult questions such as, "What can we do for you? Why should I hire you? What are your strong/weak points?"

d. Employee evaluations

Some of the literature, although perhaps not a high enough percentage, attempts to orient the job seeker by explaining the employee's point of view. This can take the form of objectively outlining the qualities of a good employee or by detailing specific points an employer looks for in the employment interview. Like so many other aspects of the literature, these two points are confused and the difference between "working" and "interviewing" is not made.

Evaluation is based on maturity, emotional stability, teamwork abilities, tact, adaptability, tough mindedness, self-discipline, initiation, follow through, self-confidence, aggressiveness, hard working, honesty.

Obviously, all of these qualities may or may not come out in an employment interview, and even if they do, they may not reflect the applicant's job performance. The extent to which employers/interviewers are aware of this is not mentioned and as a result, seekers are lead to believe that they must conduct themselves in the interview as they would on the job.

Another area of considerable confusion relates to those aspects of impression made on the employer which can or cannot be corrected. In almost all of the handouts, very easily correctable behavior, such as arriving late to the interview, is placed side by side with such things as not being qualified for the job or even more difficult to correct characteristics such as low verbal ability or even certain aspects of appearance. Because this is confused in the advice given, the impression is that there are no objective factors which may prevent one from getting the job and that somehow is all in the hands of the interviewee and how he/she handles the interview. Thus, the reasons given for rejection are of two very different natures, but these are not pointed out with any clarity in the literature.

In terms of "objective" reasons for rejection, the literature mentions not being qualified and having specific negative points in the work or school record. Characteristics that are debatably correctable are things such as attitude (lack of enthusiasm, interest, or a non-professional manner) and appearance (not suitable for the company). Easily correctable reasons for rejection are: arriving late, no preparation of specific names and dates; no knowledge about company or job in questions; negative attitude; reference to personal problems; overemphasis on pay and benefits (see "areas of disagreement"); lack of goals and motivation.

e. General information: tips, do's and don'ts

The same general information is contained throughout the handouts on interviewing although they may appear in different forms and with a different emphasis from document to document. The overall body of knowledge is much smaller than would seem from first glance. The need to make a good impression, to be positive, to act and dress appropriately, and most of all to sell yourself is stressed again and again in a variety of ways. Once again, there is no distinction made between those things immediately correctable and controllable and those which aren't. Some of the major points made throughout the literature are as follows:

- Arrive from 5 to 15 minutes early to the interview (some disagreement on this point)
- Be prepared: everything gone over in "pre-interview preparation"
- Be positive: Turn any possibly negative element of past or present history into something good. Never talk about any past experiences or employers negatively. Always be open for training and advancement and positive about the line of work under consideration.
- Go alone to the interview
- Assume a professional attitude: this may take the form of a general suggestion or may include specific advice, i.e., no gum chewing, proper attire, good posture, firm handshake, appropriate responses to questions

- Always wind up interview with the suggestion that you will contact the employer. Never just leave with a "good-bye, we'll let you know." In other words, leave the door open to further contact.

The key concept in all of the handouts and all of the suggestions they contain is Sell Yourself. Other things mentioned, with less frequency or sometimes with less emphasis, are awareness of body language and body chemistry, eye contact, don't interrupt, know the name of your interviewer, tell the truth, don't take notes, don't show insecurity, and don't ask stupid questions.

There is a negligent amount of information given about the actual content of the interview or the different kinds of interview the seeker is likely to confront. One handout stated that there are four parts to the interview: opening, specifics, fitting skills to organization, finishing. This seems, however, extremely idealistic and if of any value at all, it is simply to make the job seeker aware of the various focuses possible in the interview.

All of the handouts agree that the interviewee should not allow the interview to end without establishing the fact that he or she will contact the employer. Some suggest asking the employer at that point what are the possibilities of being hired while others firmly discourage putting the interviewer on the spot in this way.

f. Dealing with difficult areas in the job interview

This subject is dealt with in relation to the job interview in very much the same way as it is dealt with in the information given about filling out applications: the fact that problems exist is mentioned but specific advice about how to deal with these problem areas is rarely explored. When there is information, it very often overlaps with that given about applications, and so would be repetitive to discuss again. It is very possible that these areas are gone over personally in the workshops since it is one area most given to individualized counseling. There are some general suggestions, however:

- bring up problem areas before the interviewer does
- try to turn something negative into something positive or a learning experience, i.e., many short-term jobs could be explained by saying that now you are ready to settle down

- if you have no formal employment or training to qualify you for the job, stress the point that you have had informal experience, hobbies, etc.
- if you are over-qualified, make the interviewer know that it is your considered choice in order to allay his fears of you leaving soon.

g. Areas of disagreement

Most of the areas of disagreement have been mentioned but in summation:

- The question of whether or not or at what point during the interview to ask the employer about salary and fringe benefits. Some handouts emphatically state that the interviewee should never mention these subjects, while other handouts actually list all the possible questions related to them. Some say that the job seeker should only bring it up at the end of the interview if the employer has not yet mentioned it.
- Whether or not to make small talk during an interview or attempt to establish some kind of personal contact with the interviewee by discussing and attempting to find areas of common interest in family life, weather, hobbies, etc.
- Whether or not to take notes in the interview.
- Whether to arrive exactly on time or to be 5, 10, or 15 minutes early.
- Whether or not to write follow-up letters. Some suggest that a follow-up letter should be like a thank you note, while others say that it should be like a reminnder and a further request for the job. Some state that the seeker should never send unrequested correspondence.

h. Materials used

Worksheets passed out to help job seekers prepare for the interview are: appearance check lists for men and women; evaluation sheets for mock interview critique; evaluation sheets for oneself after completing an interview; sample questions with spaces to write in possible answers; tests on interview skills; positive and negative word lists; samples of interview record sheets kept by employers; and alternative interview scripts to judge and criticize.

Informational Interviewing

Informational interviewing is discussed in the handouts in connection with many different aspects of the job search. Sometimes it is treated as part of the self/skills analysis process as an aid in finding out about occupations and industries that may suit the job seeker's specific needs and wants. Other times it is mentioned in connection with the process of researching companies to find out about unadvertised job openings. In fact, it can be part of any of these processes, just as these different aspects can overlap with one another even to the point that an informational interview conducted to find out about a specific occupation may turn into a job interview and maybe even into a job. There is, however, relatively little information about informational interviewing in the program literature. That which does exist seems to be related to and directed toward higher skill levels and more career choice endeavors as opposed to job search.

a. Purpose

The purposes of an informational interview also overlap: they may be helpful at different points in the job search process. Usually said to:

- help avoid unnecessary contacts in the job search process
- get information about jobs and industries from the "horse's mouth"
- build up a network of job contacts
- help in the career orientation and decision process

b. How to set up an informational interview

There is very little specific information on this except in a few, selected programs. The choice is between letter, drop-in, or telephone.

c. Topics to cover in an informational interview

The main topics one is supposed to cover are related to working conditions, products and services provided, organizational structure, and specific job qualifications. Some workshops provide exact questions to ask while others simply list these areas to cover.

d. Comments

There seems to be some confusion and very little if any distinction made between an informational interview for the purpose of finding out about an occupation and one for finding out about an industry. It seems they would involve very different questions and even different approaches, i.e., who you would talk to. Such are not discussed in the literature.

Summary and Conclusions

(1) There is a body of inforamtion which is imparted to job seekers in workshops and through official publications available in public agencies.

Based on those items reviewed, this literature appears to be amazingly uniform with very few innovative elements from one state or city to another. There are, of course, exceptions but they are few and far between.

(2) The program literature fails to give the jobseeker any grand overview or "world view" of the process in which he or she is involved. Job search, as presented in the written handouts, is lacking in any kind of internal logic which would make it more readily useful and applicable for the job seeker. There is still an element of "mystification," aspects of the search process which can be confusing and difficult for the job seeker to master. Conceivably such concerns are addressed in verbal form during workshop presentations. This is outside our purview. These issues are not, however, addressed in the written program literature.

(3) Confusion seems to prevail as to the audience being addressed. As pointed out again and again in the analysis, the information given is seemingly addressed to two different populations at the same time. For the one group much of the instruction is repetitive and needless while for the other one information is insufficient to permit the individual to act upon the advice given. It is difficult to imagine any real person who could benefit from a lot of the information which is given.

(4) The program literature exhibits a strong prejudice in favor of the white collar or professional worker involved in job search. Much of the information focuses on resume preparation and other items which could prove misleading for the blue collar or service worker conducting a search for work. In this respect the program literature seems to parallel the commercial literature. The commercial literature of necessity addresses those demanding the service and exhibiting the wherewithal to pay for the service, i.e., the effective demand. One would hope that the program literature, especially that provided by governmental agencies, would not limit its usability thusly.

(5) Although not as prevalent as in some of the commercial literature, an underlying philosophy still reigns in a majority of the material that it is "all up to you." Although limited labor market information is given and some attempt seems to be made to understand the "world out there," there is still an expressed opinion that one can overcome any barrier if one has the right attitude and works hard enough at overcoming the difficulties.

(6) In contrast with the commercial literature, the program literature seems to invite greater use of the standard intermediaries rather than at-

tempt to create positions or exploit the hidden job market. In part this undoubtedly is a reflection of the sources behind much of the program literature, e.g., state employment service offices, etc.

Lessons for Job Search Training Programs

(1) As with the commercial literature, the program literature has the tendency to address a jobseeker who may be atypical. Job search training programs, particularly those designed to aid workers in blue collar and service occupations and special subpopulations, should realize that much of the currently published advice to jobseekers may be inappropriate or misleading to the populations they attempt to serve.

(2) The program literature focuses on the techniques of job search but seemingly ignores its companion process, recruitment. A basic understanding of the recruitment process may prove an important component of job search training programs as a means of relieving some of the anxiety and tension inherent in the process of job search.

(3) The written word is the most stressed way of contacting potential employers discussed in the program literature. These manuals are full of advice on completing employment applications, formulating resumes, and writing letters. Much of this advice, particularly that on employment applications, is extremely important for the participants in public job assistance programs. However, much is probably less applicable--i.e., resume preparation. Designers of job search training programs must continually remind themselves of whom they are serving and tailor the program curriculum to individual group needs. With the mass of literature available, both program and commercial, it is easy to fall into the trap of using that which has been used before, just because it is at hand and regardless of its relevance. Innovation is often hard work.

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51. Mortensen, Dale T., "Job Search, the Duration of Unemployment, and the Phillips Curve," The American Economic Review, Vol. 60, Dec. 1970, pp. 847-862.

Presents a simultaneous equations model describing the dynamic behavior of money wages and unemployment in a competitive labor market. Mathematically derives optimal acceptance wage as being that which equates the value of time spent searching to the present value of the future benefits attributable to search.

52. Mortensen, Dale T., "Unemployment Insurance and Job Search Decisions," Industrial & Labor Relations Review, July 1977, Vol. 30, #4, pp. 505-517.

Model allows search while employed, search as a choice variable, and the cost of search viewed as the value of foregone leisure. Effects of UI benefits on measured search unemployment found to be theoretically ambiguous given the interaction of two incentive effects.

53. Parsons, Donald O., "Quit Rates Over Time: A Search and Information Approach," American Economic Review, Vol. 63, 1973, pp. 390-401.
    Costs and benefits of further search will be influenced by offers already received. Worker must decide at each step whether incremental returns exceed incremental costs. Utilization of sequential search model.

54. Peterson, Richard L., "Economics of Information and Job Search: Another View," Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 86:1, Feb. 1972, pp. 127-131.
    Derives a model of employer search based on employee qualification and fixed wage scales and generates a purely economic rationale for discrimination on the basis of resource cost considerations.

55. Phelps, E., et al., Microeconomic Foundations of Employment and Inflation Theory (W. W. Norton & Company: NY, 1970).
    A collection of important articles on wage, price, and job decisions under incomplete information. Special attention should be paid to the introduction where Phelps provides an excellent intuitive feel for job search theory.

56. Pissarides, Christopher A., "Job Search and Participation," Economica, 43:169, Feb. 1976, pp. 33-49.
    Sequential job search model with finite work horizon. Reservation wage shown to decline if the period of search is unsuccessful.

57. Reder, M.W., "The Theory of Frictional Unemployment," Economica, Vol. 36, Feb. 1969, pp. 1-28.
    An example of the mathematical complexity of the development of job search theory and its use in explaining macroeconomic concepts.

58. Rothschild, Michael, "Models of Market Organization with Imperfect Information: A Survey," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 81, #6, Nov./Dec. 1973, pp. 1283-1308.
    Expresses the growth of job search theory as an offshoot of work on market structures where participants act on the basis of sketchy and incomplete information. No single equilibrium concept shown valid for all situations.

59. Salant, Stephen W., "Search Theory and Duration Data: A Theory of Sorts," The Quarterly Journal of Economics, Vol. 91, #1, Feb. 1977, #362, pp. 39-57.

Explains problems in BLS duration of unemployment measure and why it provides little direct information about the length of unemployment spells.

60. Salop, S. C., "Wage Differentials in a Dynamic Theory of the Firm," Journal of Economic Theory, 6, 1973, pp. 321-344.
Dynamic optimization model showing that a firm faced with an excess supply of willing applicants will not lower its wage.

61. Salop, S.C., "Systematic Job Search and Unemployment," The Review of Economic Studies, Vol. 40(2), #122, April 1973, pp. 191-201.
Mathematical model allows 1) seekers to sample firms systematically; 2) the possibility of no or a declining number of job offers; and 3) duration analysis.

62. Stephenson, Jr., Stanley P., "The Economics of Youth Job Search Behavior," The Review of Economics & Statistics, Vol. 58:1, Feb. 1976, pp. 104-111.
Study of job search among Indianapolis youth. Reservation wage found to vary inversely with unemployment duration in the case of black youth. Youth found to overwhelmingly accept the first job offer--difficulties in finding a single offer.

63. Stigler, George J., "The Economics of Information," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 69, #3, June 1961, pp. 213-225.
The parent of job search theory--job search being a search for information. Associated with acquiring information are costs and benefits which the individual weighs via some decision rule.

64. Stigler, George J., "Information in the Labor Market," Journal of Political Economy, Vol. 70, #56, Oct. 1962, pp. 94-104.
"A worker will search for wage offers until the expected marginal return equals the marginal cost of search. The information a man possesses on the labor market is capital: it was produced at the cost of search."

65. Tobin, James, "Inflation and Unemployment," American Economic Review, Vol. 62, March 1972, pp. 1-18.
Questions basic assumptions and foundations of job search theory. Important weaknesses in the theory are indicated.

66. Wharton, Joseph B., "The Theory of Search and Equilibrium in a Nonauctioneered Market," in Lippman, S.A. and McCall, J.J., editors, Studies in the Economics of Search (North-Holland Publishing Company: NY, 1979.)
Uses search model to investigate the properties of market equilibrium via a finite state Markov chain.

67. Whipple, David. "A Generalized Theory of Job Search," *Journal of Political Economy*, Vol. 81, #5, Sept./Oct. 1973.

Job search models main emphasis has been on deriving the reservation wage. Few policy recommendations other than reducing search duration have resulted. Reducing search time may reduce efficiency.

68. Wilde, Louis L., "Labor Market Equilibrium under Nonsequential Search," *Journal of Economic Theory*, 16, 1977, pp. 373-393.

Uses nonsequential search rule to include possibility of worker overinvestment in information. New assumptions require that the worker select a fixed number of firms and then choose the maximum of their wage offers.

69. Wilde, Louis L., "An Information-Theoretic Approach to Job Quits" in Lippman, S.A. and McCall, J.J., editors, *Studies in the Economics of Search*, NOrth-Holland Publishing Company: NY, 1979.

Extends model to include quits by assuming both pecuniary and nonpecuniary aspects of job offers. quit decision based on meeting critical value of either aspect.

The Empirical Research Literature

70. Abrahams, N.M.; Atwater, D.C.; and Alf, Jr., E.F., "Unobtrusive Measurement of Racial Bias in Job-Placement Decisions," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1977, 62, pp. 116-119.

Study to determine whether there are significant differences between white and black interviewers in their treatment of black and white applicants. No bias in treatment was found to exist.

71. Adams, Leonard P. and Aronson, Robert L., *Workers and Industrial Change: A Case Study of Labor Mobility* (NY: Cornell University, 1957.)

Study of International Harvester plant shutdown in 1950 in Auburn, NY. Workers shown to use essentially identical methods in subsequent searches. Few workers shop for jobs; rather tend to accept first offer without acquiring much knowledge of the nature of the job. Acceptance of a job was seen not as a final decision but as a preference for work over unemployment. Improved economic conditions shown to improve the effectiveness of all search methods.

72. Aiken, James and Johnson, Joseph A., "Promoting Career Information Seeking Behaviors of College Students," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 3, 1973, pp. 81-87.

Case study of college freshmen and sophmores indicates a positive relationship between the use of group reinforcement counseling and an increase in career information seeking. Advantages exist to group activities in career/employment efforts.

73. Alderfer, C. and McCord, C., "Personal and Situational Factors in the Recruitment Interview," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 1970, 54, pp. 377-385.
Investigates the impact of various perceived recruitment interviewer traits, behaviors, and attitudes on job candidate interview evaluations and subjective probabilities of accepting a job. Impact such that candidate perceived interest and concern from the interviewer was associated with higher offer acceptance.

74. Arvey, Richard D,; Gordon, Michael E.; Massengill, Douglas P.; and Mussio, Stephen J., "Differential Dropout Rates of Minority & Majority Job Candidates Due to Time Lags Between Selection Procedures," *Personnel Psychology*, 1975, 28, pp. 175-180.
Shows that the time lag between initial application and subsequent selection procedures may represent a significant barrier in the hiring of minorities due to limited financial resources to support a prolonged search.

75. Azrin, N.H.; Flors, T.; and Kaplan, S.J., "Job Finding Club: A Group Assisted Program for Obtaining Employment," *Behavioral Research and Therapy*, 1975, Vol. 13, pp. 17-27.
Job finding club format experimentally shown to be superior to usual job finding practices in successful outcomes. Program based on a buddy search system, on mutual sharing of job leads, family support, and full-time search. Initial success rates promoted expansion of the program to other sites. In addition to placement, the average starting salary was about a third higher for the participant group.

76. Bakke, E. Wight, *The Unemployed Worker* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940.)
Continuation of Hartford/New Haven studies (see Claque). An early report on job seeking experiences of workers. Includes case histories of job seekers. Lack of jobs due to depressed economic conditions makes all search methods ineffectual.

77. Baldwin, George B., "Tulamusa: A Study of the Place of the Public Employment Service," *Industrial & Labor Relations Review*, Vol. 4:4, 1951, pp. 509-526.
Study of the public employment office in a city with population of 125,000 given the fictional name Tulamusa. An early statement of the existence and importance on informal networks, of firm's reluctance to allow outside screening, of employer reluctance to submit openings, and the emerging conflict of ES goals.

78. Barbee, Joel R. and Keil, Ellsworth C., "Experimental Techniques of Job Interview Training for the Disadvantaged," Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 58, #2, 1973, pp. 209-213.

Evaluates a training program designed to enhance interviewing skills among the disadvantaged. Treatment programs of videotape feedback with and without a behavior modification technique program were found to significantly change participant interview success.

79. Baron, Harold and Hymer, Bennet, "The Negro Worker in the Chicago Job Market," Employment Service Review (Aug. 1966), pp. 32-34.

Presents evidence of a segretated job pattern for whites and blacks in Chicago. Races using separate job seeking patterns, seeking jobs in what they consider to be their submarket. Blacks found to expect rebuff and limit search to black jobs. Indicates that ES and other agencies orient operations to the dual market.

80. Berger, Michael, et al., "You and Me Against the World: Dual Career Couples & Job Seeking," Journal of Research and Development in Education, Vol. 10:4, Summer 1977, pp. 30-37.

Largest number of couples choose egalitarian strategies initially. In response to the labor market one career inevitably must be given precedence, usually the husband's, given the likelihood of higher pay, free child care, etc. Despite all factors, however, one-fourth of the sample made an egalitarian final decision.

81. Bowser, Samuel E.; Sherman, Gary; and Whisler, R. Hugh, "An Action Research Approach to Central City Unemployment," Journal of Vocational Behavior, 4 (1974), pp. 115-124.

Central city job search assistance project developed to aid individuals in locating openings and in acquiring increased self assurance. Participants counseled and motivated to search past for hidden assets, taught to formulate realistic job objective, and to search more effectively. Significant higher placement and salaries for participants.

82. Bradshaw, Thomas, "Jobseeking Methods Used by Unemployed Workers," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 96, #2, Feb. 1973.

Reports on Special Labor Force Report obtained from CPS data. Direct application found to be the most used search method; with public employment services and newspaper ads making second and third. Women found to use the want ads more often than men; men contact friends and relatives more frequently than do women. Whites make greater use of private agencies and newspaper ads while blacks tend toward the public ES.

83. Bradshaw, Thomas F. and Scholl, Janet L., "The Extent of Job Search During Layoff," Brookings Papers on Economic Activity 1976:2, pp. 515-526.

Data calls into question Feldstein's conclusion that very few workers on layoff are jobseekers. Authors state that Feldstein's data sources are unadaptable to his conclusions. Evidence suggests a greater proportion of those on layoff search for work than Feldstein's figure of 10 percent.

84. Brenne, David W., "Placement Outcomes of Counseled Applicants," Journal of Employment Counseling, Vol. II-2, June 1974.

Asks the question, 'Does the placement rate of groups who receive counseling differ from those who do not?' Placement rates for counseled applicants was twice as high as for noncounseled applicants. Counseling improves job placement rates.

85. Bureau of National Affairs, Recruiting Policies and Practices (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1979).

Reports the results of a survey on recruiting methods used by organizations. Multiple methods are used, especially in recruiting professional/technical staff, less so with sales personnel. Referrals and walk-ins used for office and plant workers; private agencies and universities for professional/technical and management. Survey asked questions of method efficiency; and in employer perceptions.

86. Burgess, Paul and Kingston, J., "Worksearch Knowledge, Schooling and Earnings," Industrial Relations, 1974: Vol. 13, pg. 308.

Worksearch knowledge as judged by worker's knowledge of normal hiring channels, the number of job vacancies, his past success at looking for work and the degree of realism in his belief of his abilities and the job market are shown to be significant determinants of his earnings level in initial jobs.

87. Camil Associates, Recruitment, Job Search, and the United States Employment Service (R & D Monograph 43; U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1976).

Study of the role of the employment service in job search and recruitment and the degree to which the employment service meets search needs. Formal methods account for only a third of all job matches. The employment service is most effec-tive in placing sales, service, and clerical workers. Job seekers and employer opinions of employment security are generally favorable. The employment service finds a job match for one worker in 17.

88. Carlson, R.E., "Effect of Applicant Sample on Ratings of Valid Information in an Employment Setting," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1970, 54, pp. 217-222.

Concerns the effect of the previous job applicant upon ratings of test results for the following applicant. Previous job applicant found to have a statistically significant effect on the evaluation of valid test results, but only a negligible effect on the employment decision.

89. Carlson, R.E., "Relative Influence of a Photograph and Factual Written Information on an Interviewer's Employment Decision" Personnel Psychology, 1969, 22, pp. 45-56.
Studies the relative effects of appearance, in the form of a photo versus written information, on interviewer employment decisions. No significant differences were found.

90. Changing Times, "Over 40 and Looking for a Job," February 1968, Vol. 22:2, pp. 31-33.
Reports on Forty Plus Club: their aim being to find jobs for its members who are unemployed executives who, because of age alone, are experiencing problems in being hired. Rigorous process to become a member. Eight out of a hundred who apply are accepted. Reports phenomenal success in placing members. Club provides placement services, resume and interviewing counseling, access to an extensive contact library, etc.

91. Clague, E.; Couper, W.; and Bakke, E.W., After the Shutdown (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934).
Reports on the shutdowns of plants in New Haven and Hartford and the labor market experiences of the affected workers. Informal methods proved more effective than formal methods. Little help from outside sources as social stigma was found associated with being unemployed.

92. Clark, Kenneth, Dark Ghetto (NY: Harper and Row, 1965).
Ghetto youth shown to be poorly prepared in techniques of search; to have not learned how to apply for jobs or how to speak with employers and fill out application forms. Attitudes toward promptness and appropriate dress adversely affects employment opportunities.

93. Clowers, M.R. and Fraser, R.T., "Employment Interview Literature: A Perspective for the Counselor," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1977, 26, pp. 13-26.
Relative to the employer interview, prior to the interview the counselor should 1) review with their clients the periphial factors in the interview that influence decision making (appearance, communication skills), 2) review interview procedures, 3) coach the client on offering positive job related information, and 4) make the client aware of interview/interviewee interaction subtleties.

94. Cohen, Barry M. and Etheredge, Jack M., "Recruiting's Main Ingredient," Journal of College Placement, Winter 1975, 35, pp. 75-77.
Recruiters attend to verbal and nonverbal mannerisms, general appearance, and personal motives in the interview. Authors list positive and negative mannerisms and discussion topics influencing the hiring decision.

95. Cohen, S.L., "Hair and Jobs," Journal of College Placement, 1975, 36(2), pp. 75-77.
Survey of interviewers concludes that applicants should avoid extremes in appearance when engaged in job search necessitating interviewing. Long hair on men followed by beards create the strongest negative reactions.

96. Cohen, Stephen L. and Bunker, Kerry A., "Subtle Effects of Sex Role Stereotypes on Recruiters Hiring Decisions," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, Vol. 60(5), pp. 566-572.
Results suggest that sex discrimination may occur at the initial stages of the selection process. Discrimination is most pronounced when the applicant applies for a position for which the traditional sex orientation of the job is incongruent with their sex. This was found to be true for both sexes.

97. Conant, C., "An Evaluation of Private Employment Agencies as Sources of Job Vacancy Data," in The Measurement and Interpretation of Job Vacancies (N.B.E.R., 1966).
Reports on the private employment agencies as a job search source. Has survived through ability to appeal to a specialized segment of the jobseeker market. A thorough study of private employment agencies as a competitive market.

98. Cook, Fred and Lanham, Frank, Opportunities and Requirements for Initial Employment of School Leavers with Emphasis on Office & Retail Jobs (Detroit: Wayne State Univ., Col. of Ed., 1966.
Detroit preferred hiring methods for entry level workers identified as 1) current employees and personal references; 2) walk ins; 3) private agencies; 4) the employment service & want ads; and 5) school placement services. Informal interviews mentioned as the most frequently used screening device.

99. Craft, James A., "Racial and Occupational Aspects of Public Employment Service Placements," Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, Vol. 13, Aut. 1973, #3, pp. 53-60.
Empirical analysis of criticisms of the employment service indicate ES placements tend to be concentrated in less prestigious and lower paying occupations. ES placement of blacks tend more to reinforce the occupational structure of blacks than to change the relative importance of occupational categories to be more like that of the white majority.

100. Cuony, Edward R. and Hoppock, Robert, "Job Course Pays Off," *Personnel & Guidance Journal*, 1954, 32, pp. 389-391.

Reports on job finding course taught to high school seniors. Course consisted of a survey of local employment opportunities, practice interviews, etc. One year later students having the course were experiencing greater satisfaction and receiving increased earnings compared with the control group.

101. DeSchweinitz, Dorothea, *How Workers Find Jobs* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932).

Study of the methods by which workers obtained employment in the hosiery industry of Philadelphia. Shows how prosperity decreased the importance of formal intermediaries and how informal methods became the major hiring mechanisms. Early study indicating the importance of employee referrals in recruitment and the rationing of job opportunities.

102. Decker, P.J. & Cornelius, E.T., "A Note on Recruiting Sources and Job Survival Rates," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1979, 64, pp. 463-464.

Several recruiting sources for obtaining new workers compared in terms of relationship to later job survival. Employee referrals found to be consistently good sources and employment agencies to be consistently poor. Newspaper ads also found among the least productive sources. Employee referrals thought to provide more accurate information than alternative sources.

103. Dennis, Terry L. and Gustafson, David P., "College Campuses vs. Employment Agencies as Sources of Manpower," *Personnel Journal*, Aug. 1973.

Personnel managers surveyed indicate college campuses to be the best source of young college educated talent. More graduates were hired through college recruiting than any other source. Employment agencies accused of not adequately counseling their clients nor carefully screening their resumes.

104. Dipboye, Robert L.,: Arvey, Richard D.; and Terpstra, David E., "Sex and Physical Attractiveness of Raters and Applicants as Determinants of Resume Evaluations," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1977, Vol. 62(3), pp. 288-294.

Male and female "interviewers" classified as either high, moderate, or low on physical attractiveness, evaluated example applicants of varied sex, physical attractiveness and qualifications. Highly qualified applicants preferred over poorly qualified, males preferred over females, attractive candidates preferred to unattractive. Discrimination in employment decisions attributed to sex-role and physical attractiveness stereotypes.

105. Dipboye, R.L.; Franklin, H.L.: and Wiback, K., "Relative Importance of Applicant Sex Attractiveness, and Scholastic Standing in Evaluation of Job Applicant Resumes," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1975, 60, pp. 39-43.

College students and professional interviewers asked to rank bogus resumes for which applicant sex, physical attractiveness and scholastic standing had been systematically varied. Both groups preferred males to females, attractive applicants to unattractive applicants, and applicants of high scholastic standing.

106. Dipboye, R.L. and Wiley, J.W., "Reactions of College Recruiters to Interviewee Sex and Self Presentation Style," Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1977, 10, pp. 1-12.

College recruiters evaluated qualifications of male and female applicants by videotape in passive and aggressive formats. Contrary to the hypotheses, moderately aggressive females were rated as favorably as moderately aggressive males. Female's overall qualifications were perceived as superior to males in such cases.

107. Downs, C.W., "What Does the Selection Interview Accomplish," Personnel Administration, May-June 1968, 31, pp. 8-14.

The highly subjective nature of interview judgments leaves them open to criticism but the interviewer is paid for making objective subjective decisions. Though unreliable in other respects, the interview can make skillful judgment with respect to ability to communicate, poise and appearance--three reliable criterion.

108. Drake, Larry R.; Kaplan, H. Roy; and Stone, Russell, "How Do Employers Value the Interview?" Journal of College Placement, Feb./March 1972, pg. 47.

Examining the factors on which applicants are judged the authors found an inability to communicate, tardiness, inappropriate dress and unkempt hair to be the most negative factors. Self expression, personality and expressed goals were the personal characteristics sought. The impressions of the interviewer were considered more important than specific grades and references, with almost half of the recruiters thinking that grades are not a good indicator of future performance.

109. Dunnette, M.D. and Borman, W.C., "Personnel Selection and Classification Systems," in Rosenzweig, M.R. and Porter, L.W., Annual Review of Psychology, 1979, 30, pp. 477-525.

An excellent summary of the literature on selection devices, their relative validities, and the equal employment opportunity implications of selection practices.

110. Dyer, Lee, "Job Search Success of Middle Aged Managers and Engineers," Industrial & Labor Relations Review, 1973, 26, pp. 969-979.

Study of the job hunting experience of 115 middle-aged managers and engineers. Those most successful in job search were more aggressive than others in their search activities and had earned lower salaries in their past position. Job-seekers should start their hunt immediately and adopt wide ranging tactics.

111. Evans, Jr., R., "The Great Computer Bubble: Has It Burst?" Industrial Relations, 1976, 15, pp. 158-167.

Computerized job banks have fallen short of expectations. Those goals of reduced search time, increased geographical mobility, improved matches, better service to the disadvantaged, and a deepened market for ES have not been met. The author proposes breaking the ES up into its various functions as a means of increased effectiveness.

112. Farnell, James E. and Pitzalis, Elaine, "How Welfare Recipients Find Jobs: A Case Study in New Jersey," Monthly Labor Review, Feb. 1978, Vol. 101, #2.

Welfare recipients search methods vary insignificantly from those of the general population with the exception of the high use and effectiveness rating for WIN and CETA. Recipients found to use fewer search methods than the general population and more likely to have found jobs via public intermediaries.

113. Farr, James L.; O'Leary, Brian S.; and Bartlett, C.J., "Effects of Work Sample Test Upon Self Selection and Turnover of Job Applicants," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 58, #2, pp. 283-285.

Important aspects of successful job search/recruitment are realistic expectations and job descriptive information. Study provides support for the work sample test as a manner of providing realistic preemployment job information. Turnover rates found lower for those in experimental group.

114. Feild, Hubert S. and Holley, William H., "Resume Preparation: An Empirical Study of Personnel Manager's Perceptions," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, 1976, 24, pp. 229-237.

Survey of personnel managers about their attitudes toward the content and format of resumes and cover letters. Concerning the cover letter, being typed and one page ranked high. Mimeographing should be avoided for it signifies a shotgun approach to search. Resumes should be typed, two pages at most, contain only highlights rather than a detailed history, and should be direct in terms of job objective.

115. Felder, Henry Edward, Job Search: An Empirical Analysis of the Search Behavior of Low Income Workers (Center for the Study of Welfare Policy, Stanford Research Institute, May 1975).

An econometric study of the job search behavior of low income workers in Denver. The method employed here is more important than the results in that the methodology most closely parallels that of the theoretical job search models. Important findings relative to search intensity.

116. Feldstein, Martin S., "The Economics of the New Unemployment," The Public Interest, Number 33, Fall 1973, pp. 3-42.

The problem is not that jobs are unavailable but that they are often unattractive. A major problem to be dealt with is the instability of individual employment. Author advocates establishment of a Youth Employment Service to provide high school counseling in employment, job search training, and placement services.

117. Ferman, Louis A., Death of a Newspaper: The Story of the Detroit Times, A Study of Job Dislocation Among Newspaper Workers in A Depressed Labor Market (W.E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research: Kalamazoo, Michigan, 1963).

A case where workers were given no advanced warning of the shutdown. Unions and direct application proved the most effective methods of job finding. The fact that 70 percent were reemployed within one week, another 18 percent within three, would indicate the market was anything but depressed. Use of multiple contacts proved a key to success.

118. Fidell, L.S., "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," American Psychologist, 1970, 25, pp. 1094-1098.

Presents empirical evidence that academic departments of psychology discriminate in hiring on the basis of sex. Men found to receive more tenure track positions than women.

119. Galassi, John P. and Galassi, Merna Dee, "Preparing Individuals for Job Interviews: Suggestions from More Than 60 Years of Research." Personnel and Guidance Journal, December 1978, Vol. 57:188-92.

A review of the literature on employment interviews. Efforts in interview preparation are organized into a four phase training program to allow clients to develop realistic expectations, develop interviewing skills, use training procedures, and cope with rejection shock. A brief, well documented summary.

120. Gannon, Martin J., "Sources of Referral and Employee Turnover," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1971, Vol. 55, #3, pp. 226-228.

Reemployment of former workers, hiring of individuals referred by their high school, hiring of employee referrals and walk-ins shown to be sources of stable employment whereas newspaper advertising and hiring agencies are associated with high turnover.

121. Gaston, Robert, "Labor Market Conditions and Employer Hiring Standards," Industrial Relations, Vol. 11/1972, pg. 272.

Evidence provides general support for the preposition that the relative "tightness" or "looseness" of the labor market is reflected in the hiring standards maintained by an employer of white collar workers.

122. Granovetter, Mark S., Getting A Job: A Study of Contacts and Careers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974.)
A unique, indepth study into the process of getting a job. Deals exclusively with the question of how individuals become aware of the opportunities they take, of how information facilitating mobility is secured. Highest salaried jobs found through contacts. Majority finding new jobs were not actively seeking at the time. Study of professional, managerial and technical workers--findings perhaps not generalizable. Work contacts lead to more jobs than family-social contacts. Information tends to move by diffusion through social processes unrelated to market behavior.

123. Grant, D.L. and Bray, D.W., "Contributions of the Interview to Assessment of Managerial Potential," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1969, 53, pp. 24-34.
A survey of recruiter techniques and evaluation of various employment related criterion. Survey identifies communication skills and the ability to relate to other individuals as being the single most important set of skills identified by the interview procedure and used in the actual hiring decision.

124. Greco, B., "Recruiting and Retaining High Achievers," Journal of College Placement, 1977, 37(2), pp. 34-40.
From interviewer surveys the author formulates a list of commonly asked questions in the interview setting. Familiarity with the list allows applicants to have more realistic expectations of the question content of interviews.

125. Grier, Eunice, In Search of A Future (Washington, D.C.: Washington Center for Metropolitan Studies, July 1963).
Study of college bound black high school graduates in Washington, D.C. Participants identified job referrals by friends and relatives working for an employer as the number one search method, followed by direct application. Overwhelming perception among participants that ES and want ads are of little use.

126. Griffitt, William and Jackson, Thomas, "Influence of Information About Ability and Nonability on Personnel Selection Decisions," Psychological Reports, 1970, 27, pp. 959-962.
Research indicates that hiring recommendations and salary levels were positively influenced when applicant and evaluator had similar work attitudes.

127. Guion, Robert, "Employment Tests and Discriminatory Hiring," Industrial Relations, Vol. 5, #2, Feb. 1966.

Employment tests found to be more successful than employment interviews in minimizing unfair discrimination in selection. Problems with testing include willingness to use unvalidated tests and a lack of interest in establishing test validities.

128. Gutek, B.G. and Stevens, D.A., "Effects of Sex of Subjects, Sex of Stimulus Cue, and Androgyny Level on Evaluations in Work Situations Which Evoke Sex Role Stereotypes," Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1979, 14, pp. 23-32.

Male and female college students filled out a sex role inventory. Evaluation of sexes in work situations evoking a sex role stereotype was studied. Both males and females found to respond in a sex role stereotyped manner. Students found to respond less stereotypically than male managers as a group. Less sex stereotyping found in case of career women who have made obvious long-term decision.

129. Haefner, James E., "Race, Age, Sex, and Competence as Factors in Employer Selection of the Disadvantaged," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, Vol. 62, No. 2, pp. 199-202.

Two hundred eighty-six employers were interviewed to determine their assessment of hypothetical job candidates. Race found not to be an important factor while age, sex, and competence did affect the decision. Twenty-five year old preferred to 55 year old, males to females, highly competent males preferred to highly competent females, no preference in barely competent subgroup.

130. Hakel, M.D. and Schuh, A.J., "Job Applicant Attributes Judged Important Across Seven Divergent Occupations," Personnel Psychology, 1971, 24, pp. 45-52.

Identifies similarities in the attributes sought by recruiters in diverse occupations. These 22 attributes are then suggested as an interview guide of demonstrated generality for use by interviewers.

131. Hammer, W.C.; Kim, J.S.; Baird, L,; and Bigoness, W.J., "Race and Sex as Determinants of Ratings by Potential Employers in a Simulated Work Sampling Task," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, 59, pp. 705-711.

Examines the way the sex and race of the rater and the sex and race of the ratee influence assessments of ratee performance. Indicates that sex/race stereotypes influence assessments of behavior on a work sampling test. High performance black ratees rated only slightly higher than low performing black ratees, while high performing white ratees were rated significantly higher than low performing white ratees.

132. Harkness, C.A. and Madole, M.C., "Interview Evaluations that Work Both Ways," Journal of College Placement, 1974, 34(3), pp. 77-80.

Ratings of applicants by interviewers and interviewers by applicants are compared. The better the communicative ability of a person applying for a job, the more likely that person is to be looked upon favorably. Students found to be unaware of the job market and to have been given unrealistic information by academic faculty.

133. Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., Youth in the Ghetto (NY: Harlem YOU, Inc., 1964).

Study of effects on New York State ES program, Youth Employment Service (YES) on the job hunting of Harlem youth. Significant increase in interviews and placements recorded. Job duration short--possibly indicating dislike for jobs obtained as being of low potential and not leading to any stable career.

134. Heilman, M.E. and Saruwatori, L.R., "When Beauty is Beastly: The Effects of Appearance and Sex on Evaluations of Job Applicants for Managerial and Nonmanagerial Jobs," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1979, 23, pp. 360-372.

Experiment conducted to determine the effects of both appearance and sex on the evaluation of applicants. Attractiveness consistently proved an advantage for men but was an advantage for women only when seeking a nonmanagerial position. In fact, when the managerial position was considered there was a tendency for attractiveness to work against female applicants.

135. Heneman, H.G.; Fox, Harland; and Yoder, Dale, Minnesota Manpower Mobilities (University of Minnesota, 1950).

Study of job search experience of 500 workers in 1947-48 in the Minneapolis, Minnesota labor market. Majority of jobs located through direct application and contact with friends and relatives. Significant use of the newspaper want ads also recorded. Study took place in a time of expanding economic activity.

136. Heneman, III, Herbert G., "Impact of Test Information & Applicant Sex on Applicant Evaluations in a Selection Simulation," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62(4), pp. 524-526.

College students evaluated a hypothetical job applicant on four dimensions. For male and females receiving identical test scores, the high scoring females were rated much less suitable than the high scoring males, reflecting the unwillingness of evaluators to accept the score at face value.

137. Hilaski, Harvey, "How Poverty Area Residents Look for Work," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 94, #3, March 1971.

Study of job search methods in six urban poverty areas. Results fail to support traditional views that jobseeking methods of poverty area residents differ substantially from methods used by residents in other areas. Findings discount argument that poverty area job search techniques are inefficient relative to general population.

138. Hill, Raymond E., "New Look at Employee Referrals as a Recruitment Channel," Personnel Journal, Feb. 1970 (49), pg. 144.

Three factors were found to have significant impact on the success of employee referrals as a recruitment device: morale of the employee, the accuracy of information given by employee to jobseeker, and the closeness of the employee to the jobseeker.

139. Holt, Charles; MacRae, C. Duncan; Schweitzer, Stuart O.; and Smith, Ralph E., The Unemployment-Inflation Dilemma: A Manpower Solution (Washington, D.C.: Urban Institute, 1971).

"The optimal inflation--unemployment tradeoff that could be obtained through monetary and fiscal policy alone would still yield excessively high levels of unemployment, inflation or both ... Structural changes in the economy ... are badly needed ... The processes of searching for employees and for jobs should be improved in both speed and quality for the whole labor market so that unemployment duration is shortened and employment tenure is lengthened."

140. Hope, II, John, "The Problem of Unemployment as it Relates to Negroes," Studies in Unemployment (U.S. Senate, Special Committee on Unemployment Problems, 86th Congress, Washington, D.C., GPO, 1960).

Study of employment patterns in Pennsylvania among firms engaged in racial discrimination finds more discrimination in sales, supervisory and office occupations and the least amount in hiring unskilled and semiskilled workers.

141. Hopper, Robert and Williams, Frederick, "Speech Characteristics and Employability," Speech Monographs, 1973,40, pp. 296-302.

Interviewee's speech characteristics furnish cues which form employer's attitudes towards the speaker and these attitudes influence employment decisions. Factor analysis yields competent, agreeable, and self-assured as the relevant factors.

142. Ilgen, Daniel R. and Seely, William, "Realistic Expectations as an Aid in Reducing Voluntary Resignations," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1974, Vol. 59(4), pp. 452-455.

Realistic information about their job was presented to new members of an organization. The group experienced significantly lower turnover than did the control group.

143. Imada, A.S. and Halek, M.D., "Influence of Nonverbal Communication and Rater Proximity on Impressions and Decisions in Simulated Employment Interviews," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, 62, pp. 295-300.

Laboratory study examining the influences of nonverbal communication upon the assessment of job applicants. Results clearly indicate that nonverbal communication has a significant effect on interview impressions and subsequent decisions.

144. Johnson, Miriam, Counterpoint, the Changing Employment Service (Salt Lake City: Olympus Publishing Company, 1973.)

A critique of the activities and labor market role of a public employment service from the vantagepoint of fifteen years as a staff member in various local offices and as a national consultant. The public employment service is condemned to a relatively passive role because of its lack of job control. It began as almost the sole labor market intermediary and is now only one among many. Its role could be enhanced by taking on the assignment of teaching job search skills but is blocked from doing so by a budgetary process based on direct placements.

145. Johnson, Miriam, A Bifocal View of the Labor Market, Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, 1978.

Report of a research project comparing the labor market roles of the newspaper want ads and the public employment service. Derives a hierarchy of recruitment methods used by employers and shows that only those jobs not filled by methods shielded from the general public are subsequently exposed to the public through the public employment service, private employment agencies and newspaper want ads. Considerable overlap in listings of the three sources. Job seekers need to be guided to sources at earlier levels of hierarchy.

146. Jones, R.J. and Azrin, N.H., "An Experimental Application of a Social Reinforcement Approach to the Problem of Job Finding," Journal of Applied Behavior Analysis, Fall 1973, #3, pp. 345-353.

Social factors play a major role in the employment process. Predominance of job finding via friends and relatives gives evidence that social reinforcement theory can be applied to job search. Discovering who controls available jobs, increasing the hiring agents motivation utilizing preexisting relationships between applicant and hiring agent, and improving job informant motivation are essential steps in effective job search. Capitalizing on social contacts is a key to job search success.

147. Katz, A., "Schooling, Age, and Length of Unemployment," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 1974, 27, pp. 597-605.

Shows that an increase in schooling tends to reduce unemployment duration at most age levels. Since older workers have less schooling on average this alone accounts for part of the lengthening of unemployment duration with age.

148. Kemp, B. J. and Vash, C. L., "A Comparison Between Two Placement Programs for Hard Core Unemployed Persons," Journal of Employment Counseling, 1971, 8(3), pp. 108-115.

Reports on a job placement class to teach hard core, unemployed vocational rehabilitation clients self placement techniques to facilitate finding employment. Program included exploring one's background for positive skills, market researching, resume building, and interview techniques. While successful, continual counseling was found needed to combat search disappointment and initial employment crises.

149. Kennan, Vernon, and Kerr, Willard, "Unfair Employment Practices as Viewed by Private Employment Counselors," Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 36, #6, Dec. 1952, pp. 361-364.
Sample of Chicago private employment agencies surveyed to determine extent of discriminatory job orders. Significant percentage report extreme difficulty in placing blacks even when qualified. Study is dated.

150. Keyser, M., "How to Apply for a Job," Journal of College Placement, 1974, 35(1), pp. 63-65.
Research on effect of appearance factors upon interview outcome. Shoulder length hair of male applicants identified as a negative factor whereas no such stigma identified for beards and mustaches. For women, wearing a low neckline and/or miniskirt found to negatively affect decision.

151. Kidder, Alice H., Interracial Comparisons of Labor Market Behavior, Ph.D. Dissertation, MIT, August 1967.
Reports on evidence of racial discrimination in the Boston labor market. Blacks found to turn to formal methods more often, to have higher rejection rates, and to have to contact more employers before finding employment. Success rates for blacks engaging in occupationally integrative job search were lower than for whites. Heavy reliance by both groups on informal search methods.

152. Kidder, Alice H., "Racial Differences in Job Search and Wages," Monthly Labor Review, July 1968.
The possibility that racial differences in job search may play a role in unequal distribution of job opportunities is explored. Blacks shown to place self imposed restriction on job search and to use formal sources, to search more intensively than whites, and to suffer higher rejection rates. Blacks are shown to be reluctant to pursue occupationally integrative job search, not due to lack of knowledge of well paying jobs but because of "white/black" job feelings. Black workers venturing into such areas are shown to encounter discrimination.

153. King, Marc R. and Manaster, G., "Body Image, Self Esteem, Expectations, Self-Assessments, and Actual Success in a Simulated Job Interview," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, Vol. 62(5), pp. 589-594.

Female undergraduates completed a self esteem test and body satisfaction measure prior to job interview. Expectations for job interview success was found significantly related to body satisfaction and self esteem while the actual quality of interview performance was not related to either.

154. Kohn, Marvin, "Hiring College Graduates Through Off Campus Selection Interviewing," Public Personnel Management, 1975, 4(1), pp. 23-31.
General appearance, future potential, personality, communication ability, and scholastic record identified as the factors upon which interviewers base an employment offer.

155. Koziara, Edward, "Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search--Case Study," Southern Economic Journal, Vol. 37:1, July 1970, pp. 97-99.
Informal search methods yield the most jobs. Blacks are making ever increasing use of traditionally white formal channels. However, private employment agencies continue to be traditionally white channels to jobs. Reports on findings of 1968 U.S. Department of Labor Philadelphia project on job search in poverty areas.

156. Landy, F. J. and Bates, F., "Another Look at Contrast Effects in the Employment Interview," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 58(1), pp. 14-144.
Previous studies describing possible contrast effects in the interview procedure may have used inappropriate subject populations and dependent variables. Contrast effect finding may be overvalued in the literature.

157. Langdale, John A. and Weitz, Joseph, "Estimating the Influence of Job Information on Interviewer Agreement," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 57(1), pp. 23-27.
Two groups of interviewers given application blanks to judge. One group given only general job title, while the second group was given a full job description. Interrater reliability found to be far superior for the group with complete job information.

158. Ledvinka, James, "Race of Emoloyment Interviewer and Reason Given by Black Job Seekers for Leaving Their Jobs," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 362-364.
Comparison of job leaving reasons given by black job seekers and white interviewers at the state employment service. Black interviewers elicited more reasons involving rejection of the job by worker or worker by employer than did whites. Because the job leaving reason is viewed by ES as part of a person's credentials, interviewer decisions may be influenced by this racial artifact of the interviewing situation.

159. Leshner, Saul S. and Synderman, George, "Jobseeking Patterns of Disadvantaged Youth," Employment Service Review, Nov. 1965, pp. 53-55.

Interviews with Philadelphia high school dropouts show them having little job market knowledge, having exposure to only unskilled/semi-skilled jobs, resulting in very restricted patterns of job search.

160. Lewin, A. Y. and Duchan, L., "Women in Academia," Science, 1971, 173, pp. 892-895.

Study of evaluation of male and female applicants in initial hiring decision procedures finds no evidence of sex effects. Male and female applicants found to be treated equally in initial procedures.

161. Lewin, David; Horten, Raymond; Shick, Robert; and Brecher, Charles, The Urban Labor Market: Institutions, Information, Linkages (N.Y.: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

Includes section on the formerly institutionalized and the forces which deny them access to primary labor markets. Tend to disavow extensive search; trial is to find a few promising employers worthy of intensive investigation. Tend to pursue intensive job search within narrow markets. Greatly distrust formal methods such as the employment security. Due to institutional requirements, most jobs are prearranged by family and friends.

162. Lewis, Morgan V. and Cohn, Elchanan, "Recruiting and Retraining Participants in a Manpower Region," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 1973, 26, pp. 842-850.

Participant reasons for withdrawing from the Concentrated Employment program shown to relate to their perceptions of CEP's inability to provide the kind of jobs they want, i.e., jobs considered superior to their presently available alternatives.

163. Lipsky, David B., "Interplant Transfer and Terminated Workers: A Case Study," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, 1970, 23, pp. 191-206.

Examines labor market experience of employees of four General Foods Jello Division plant shutdowns in 1962. Less than 10 percent found work in the same industry. Men over 55 years of age averaged 23.6 weeks of unemployment, those under 25 years of age -- 6 weeks. An inverse relationship was found between the number of dependents and the duration of unemployment. A positive correlation exists between duration and the level of severence pay.

164. Loomba, R.P., A Study of the Reemployment and Unemployment Experience of Scientists and Engineers Laid Off from 62 Aerospace and Electronics Firms in the San Francisco Bay Area During 1963-65. (Manpower Research Group: center for Interdisciplinary Studies: San Jose State College, San Jose, CA: Feb. 1967).

Study of search experiences of a group of scientists and engineers finds highest efficiency ratings for 1) direct application to companies; 2) friends; and 3) newspaper want ads. Significant numbers forced to take salary cuts for reemployment. No reliance on employment security by this group.

165. Lumsden, H., "The Plant Visit: A Crucial Area of Recruiting," Journal of College Placement, 1967, 27, pp. 74-84.

Poll of college seniors after each had made a number of plant visits. The perceived personality of the recruiter was found to have significant effects upon applicant decisions concerning acceptance of job offers. Recruiter ignorance of applicant characteristics and job vacancies significantly affected applicant decisions.

166. Lumsden, Howard H. and Sharf, James C., "Behavioral Dimensions of the Job Interview," Journal of College Placement, Spring 1974, pg. 63.

Data from numerous interviews by one hundred interviewers are combined to determine what specific applicant behaviors are endemic to the interview process and how much these behaviors influence the interviewer's judgment. Behaviors constitute a thorough list for interview preparation efforts.

167. Lurie, Melvin and Rayack, Elton, "The Racial Differences in Migration and Job Search: A Case Study," in Louis A. Ferman, Joyce L. Kornbluh, and J. A. Miller, Negroes and Jobs (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968).

Study of relatively small communities shows division of jobs to be on the basis of national origin. The black is easily identified and must direct himself to a limited range of job opportunities. To break out of existing patterns and places on occupational ladder, blacks turn disproportionately to institutional intermediaries. Intermediaries shown to maintain discriminatory patterns. Black reliance on employment security and white reliance on informal contacts suggests potential differences in the job market information provided to each group--perhaps partially explaining differential success among the groups.

168. McGovern, T. V. and Tinsley, H. E., "Interviewer Evaluation of Interviewee Nonverbal Behavior," Journal of Vocational Behavior, 1978, 13, pp. 163-171.

Interviewees varied such nonverbal communicators as eye contact, gestures, and body orientation during the course of a series of interviews. Nonverbal forms of communication found to have significant impact on interviewer evaluations.

169. Mangum, Garth L. "The Private Employment Agency as a Labor Market Intermediary," in Labor Market Intermediaries, Washington, D.C., National Commission for Manpower Policy 1978.

Examines the structure of the private employment agency industry, assesses its labor market impact, summarizes state regulations, and identifies public policy search.

170. Mangum, Garth L. and Seninger, Stephen F., Coming of Age in the Ghetto: A Dilemma of Youth Unemployment (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978).
Reviews economic, sociological, psychological, and anthropological literature concerning incidence and causation of central city youth unemployment. Concludes that causes are interactions of three forces: (1) deteriorating economics, (2) perverse population trends, (3) disfunctional lifestyles. Proposes research activities to clarify causes and determine solutions.

171. Mangum, Stephen, "Improving the Labor Exchange Process," The Personnel Administrator, forthcoming.
Provides empirical support for Miriam Johnson's bifocal view of the labor market. Use of the various recruitment sources is shown to vary with the skill level of the worker being sought. Informal methods are preferred to formal. The evidence suggests the job seeker should become an active seeker, and that job search assistance may be of significant benefit to youth.

172. Mayfield, E. C., "The Selection Interview: A Re-Evaluation of Published Research," Personnel Psychology, 1964, 17, pp. 239-260.
In spite of its weaknesses in validity and reliability the interview is the most cost effective selection device yet devised. Intrarater reliability is satisfactory, structured interviews are more reliable than open ended ones.

173. Melnik, Arie, "Search Strategy in Semi-Competitive Labor Markets: The Case of MBA Graduates," Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, 11 (Winter 1971), pp. 47-53.
Presents search strategy for firms hiring professional talent in a labor market with imperfect knowledge via probability distributions.

174. Mierynk, William H., Inter-Industry Labor Mobility (Northeastern University, 1955).
Research on labor mobility undertaken in 1951-53 in five New England communities: Lowell, Mass.; Lawrence, Mass.; Fall River, Mass.; New Bedford, Mass.; and Providence, R.I. Phenomenal use of informal methods in finding new jobs. Also noteworthy was the aid of the company in placement activities.

175. Miner, M. G., Selection Procedures and Personnel Records (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of National Affairs, 1976).

Survey of nonmanagerial employment practices by the Bureau of National Affairs. Testifies to the overwhelmingly widespread use of the interview as a selection device in the hiring decision. An indepth look into common recruitment practices, the use of various employment oriented tests, and their reliabilities.

176. Mitchell, Harry R., "What Title VI Means for the Local Office," Employment Service Review (Aug. 1966).
Employment security compliance review finds failure to refer qualified minority applicants to jobs traditionally reserved for whites, failure to recognize minority counseling needs, failure to assign proper occupational classifications, and the tendency to refer minorities to nonwhite jobs only.

177. Morrison, Robert F., "A Multivariate Model for the Occupational Placement Decision," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1977, Vol. 62, No. 3, pp. 271-277.
Supports idea that data regarding early life experiences can be clustered and related to job requirements so as to provide a psychological and ability match between individual and job.

178. Myers, C. and Shultz, G., The Dynamics of a Labor Market (New York: Prentice Hall, 1951).
Initial findings of labor mobility study in New England community in 1948-1949. Friends and relatives regarded as the most important single source of job market information. Formal methods yielded quick discouragement and poor information. Seekers tended to accept the first opening located.

179. Myers, Charles A. and MacLaurin, W. Rupert, The Movement of Factory Workers (New York: John Wiley, 1943).
Study of a small New England community to determine the extent to which factory workers moved voluntarily or were forced to move from firm to firm 1937-1939. Important is the significant amount of job finding through direct application and contact with friends and relatives.

180. National Commission for Employment Policy, Youth Employment Policies for the 1980s, Briefing Paper, September 1979.
An extensive review and reassessment of youth labor market policies. Report examines courses and explanations of the black/white youth unemployment rate differential; and the differences in the search techniques employed by youth by race. Blacks appear unable to utilize informal information networks with the same proficiency as their white counterparts.

181. National Commission on Employment of Youth, Getting Hired, Getting Trained--A Study of Industry Practices and Policies on Youth Employment (U.S. Health, Education, Welfare, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965).

Study of preferred recruiting methods of employers in various communities, identifies personal contact as the number one source by far. MDTA and other government program graduates looked down on because of fear of federal involvement in company affairs.

182. Newcomb, Molly R., Problems, Research and Recommendations in the Employment Testing of Minority Applicants (Ann Arbor: Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1967).

Survey of literature reporting on the increased use of employment testing in hiring practices. White interviewer bias shown emerging from bias against the dress and habits of minority individuals and from access to test results inclining them to less favorably evaluate the work of those who scored poorly. Job interview is predominant screening device, validity is questionable.

183. New York Times Magazine, "Mission Employable: An Illinois Job Finding Club Teaches Its Members that Joblessness is a State of Mind," June 20, 1976, pp. 24-25.

Reports on the Carbondale, Illinois job finding club. Club format provides individual seeker with social reinforcement and combats job search depression. Search is treated as a full-time job, quotas are made, performance is checked. 90 percent success percentage for club members was achieved.

184. Nordlund, Willis J., "Employment Service Placement in the Sixties," Industrial Relations, 1974, 13, pp. 213-217.

The 1960s saw Employment Service placements decline despite funding increases. Reasons include: employment security role to the disadvantaged as a supplier of manpower services, changes in the industrial mix, increased competition from other intermediaries, legal requirements unique to employment security, etc.

185. Palen, J. John and Fahey, Frank J., "Unemployment and Reemployment Success: An Analysis of the Studebaker Shutdown," Industrial and Labor Relations Review.

A survey of workers who lost their jobs in 1963 due to a plant shutdown. Employers shown to discriminate or hire discriminately on the basis of age, race, and occupation. Finds age and education to be most important in explaining unemployment duration.

186. Parnes, Herbert, et al., Career Thresholds Volume I (Columbus, Ohio: Center for Human Resource Research, Feb. 1969).

Uses NLS data base to look at factors associated with the duration of job search for young experienced labor force participants. Variables such as marital status, schooling, job tenure, previous wage rate, and race are analyzed. Racial parity has not been achieved. No decline in the incidence or duration of joblessness for blacks relative to whites as each gain work experience is found.

187. Parnes, H. S. and Kohen, A. I., "Occupational Information and Labor Market Status: The Case of Young Men," Journal of Human Resources, 1975, 10, pp. 44-55.

Occupational information test given to national sample of young men. Scores found to be positively related to education, measured intelligence, and socioeconomic status of family. Youth with superior information found to be more successful in obtaining higher paying jobs.

188. Perrella, Vera C.; Bogan, Forrest A.; and Swanstrom, Thomas E., "Out of School Youth, February 1963," Monthly Labor Review, Nov./Dec. 1964.

Compares methods used by white/nonwhite youth, 16 to 21 years of age, in obtaining their first full time jobs. Nonwhites found to rely more heavily on friend and relative contacts than whites, and to use direct application less than whites.

189. Peters, L. A. and Terborg, J. R., "The Effects of Temporal Placement of Unfavorable Information and of Attitude Similarity on Personnel Selection Decisions," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 13, pp. 279-293.

Attempts to determine the effects of attitude similarity on personnel decisions. Attitude similarity found to significantly influence personnel decisions. Provides further evidence that nonjob related variables influence the hiring decision.

190. Piker, Jeffry, Entry into the Labor Force (Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations; University of Michigan, 1968).

Summarizes pre-1966 literature pertaining to black and white youth's path of entry into the labor force, with attention limited to youths with no college experience. Excellent, though outdated, for relatively little research has focussed on non-college degree job market entrants.

191. Powell, Douglas H., "The Effects of Job Strategy Seminars Upon Unemployed Engineers and Scientists," The Journal of Social Psychology, 1973, 91, pp. 165-166.

Unemployed professionals participated in a seminar designed to enhance self confidence and self esteem. Experimental group had higher job finding percentage than the control group. Participants were more active in the number of interviews held and in the number of visits to job banks and placement agencies.

192. Pyrczak, Fred, "Knowledge of Abbreviations Used in Classified Advertisements on Employment Opportunities," Journal of Reading, 21, 6, March 1978, pp. 493-497.

A collection of abbreviations found in want ads was administered to a group of graduate students who scored low on identification. If graduate students had difficulty, much necessary information would elude those less prepared. Someone qualified for a given position might not seek it out due to a lack of understanding the ad and its job description.

193. Rees, Albert, "Information Networks in Labor Markets," American Economic Review, Vol. 56:2, May 1966, pp. 559-566.

Information networks can be divided into two groups, formal and informal. Introduces concepts of search on the intensive and extensive margins. Enumerates the advantages of informal information networks and provides theoretical basis for studying the hiring decision.

194. Rees, Albert and Schultz, George P., Workers and Wages in an Urban Labor Market (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970).

Indepth 1960-62 study of the Chicago labor market. Employee referrals identified as the most important method. The unimportance of the state employment service stands out, along with employer dissatisfaction with the service. Formal sources are found more important for white collar workers while blue collar workers found informal sources three to four times as effective.

195. Reid, Graham, L., "Job Search and the Effectiveness of Job Finding Methods," Industrial and Labor Relations Review, July 1972, Vol. 25, #4.

Examines job search activities of sample of workers in metal using trades in England 1966-68. Informal methods shown to be very important. Workers in higher skills groups found to begin search earlier while less skilled received less warning and had less time off to begin search. Those beginning search early were the most effective in search. Author proposes that informal sources are better qualified sources of job information than are formal channels.

196. Renwick, P. A. and Tosi, H., "The Effects of Sex, Marital Status, and Educational Background on Selection Decisions," Academy of Management Journal, 1978, 21, pp. 93-103.

Graduate students rated bogus resumes of applicants for managerial positions. Educational degree level found to influence rating. Significant interactions observed for job type and graduate degree and for job type and marital status. Evidence points to discrimination on the basis of sex-role stereotype.

197. Reynolds, L., The Structure of Labor Markets (New York: Harper and Row, 1951).

Final report on case study of labor mobility carried out in a New England factory city in 1946-48 (some findings previously published as Job Horizons). Results show workers to be poorly informed about job opportunities; informal contacts to be important in finding good positions, and direct application to be the most successful job search method.

198. Reynolds, Lloyd G. and Shister, Joseph, Job Horizons (New York: Harper and Row, 1949).
Interim report on study of New Haven/Hartford labor markets. Jobseekers found to seldom refuse a job offer. Employment regarded superior to unemployment. Employment does not rule out continued search for ideal job position. Seeker imposes minimum standards on job he will accept, standards are flexible, nowever.

199. Rocha Jr., Joseph R., The Differential Impact of An Urban Labor Market Upon the Mobility of White and Negro Potentially Skilled Workers, University of Iowa, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, 1966.
Contends that entry into the labor force has become increasingly institutionalized. Activities of private employment agencies reflect the practices of the private employers with whom they do business. A majority of agencies found willing to comply with discriminatory job orders.

200. Rose, Gerald L. and Andiappan, P., "Sex Effects on Managerial Hiring Decisions," Academy of Management Journal, 1978, Vol. 21(1), pp. 104-112.
Subjects were asked to evaluate hypothetical male and female applicants for management positions: one-half requiring supervision of males, one-half requiring supervision of females. Subjects favored applicants whose sex matched their subordinates. Sex role context may induce selection discrimination.

201. Rosen, B. and Jerdee, T. H., "The Influence of Age Stereotypes on Managerial Decisions," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1976, 61, pp. 428-432.
Age found to be a factor in employability ratings of applicants, particularly among equally high qualified applicants. Twenty-nine year old applicants rated significantly more employable than 58 year olds. Firm appears to view younger age as an investment in the future whereas an older worker represents no such investment.

202. Rosen, B. and Mericle, M. F., "Influence of Strong Versus Weak Fair Employment Policies and Applicant's Sex on Selection Decisions and Salary Recommendations in a Management Simulation," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1979, 64, pp. 435-439.

Consequences of fair employment policy statements for managerial selection decisions and salary recommendations examined by manipulating variables--strength of fair employment policy statement and applicant's sex. Strong and weak policies were equally effective in counteracting sex bias in selection decisions; however, lower starting salaries were recommended for females compared to men.

203. Rosenfeld, Carl, "Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 98, #8, Aug. 1975.
Preliminary findings of 1973 DOL sample survey of successful job seekers. Importance of informal methods, and relatively low intensity of average search highlighted. Greater proportion of blacks than whites shown to use employment security and local assistance organizations. Blacks shown less likely to turn down job offers. Briefly covers skill/occupational search differences.

204. Rosenfeld, Carl, "Job Search of the Unemployed, May 1976," Monthly Labor Review, November 1977, Volume 100, #11, p. 39-42.
Special survey of 3,200 unemployed respondents to CPS. Those unemployed four weeks or more averaged only four hours a week in search. Most reported exhausting all leads. Only 10 percent of the seekers had received and turned down a job offer with over one-third citing low pay as the reason. Seven out of ten reported meeting living expenses by cutting back. Other expenses included drawing on savings, earnings of other family members, and unemployment insurance income.

205. Rosenfeld, Carl, "The Extent of Job Search by Unemployed Workers," Monthly Labor Review, March 1977, Volume 100, #3, pp. 38-61.
CPS respondents were asked series of questions concerning the extent of job search among employed persons. Youth are shown to have a greater tendency to explore different possibilities. Main reasons listed for search were to obtain higher wages and to locate better hours. Search methods used were similar to those used by unemployed workers except that the unemployed used the employment service 2.5 times more frequently.

206. Rosson, Jay G.; Schoemer, James; and Nash, Patricia A., "Grades and Extra Curricular Activities: How Important Are They in Landing the First Job," Journal of College Placement, 1973, 33(3), pp. 73-76.
Students with high grades found to have no better chance of initial employment than students with average grades. Membership in campus organizations found not to increase chances for employment.

207. Rowe, P. M., "Order Effects in Assessment Decisions," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1967, 51, pp. 170-173.

Whether an individual is accepted or rejected for a job may well depend more on the characteristics of the previous applicants than on his own traits.

208. Rungeling, Brian; Smith, Lewis H.; and Scott, Loren C., "Effectiveness of Rural Job Search Methods," Monthly Labor Review, Vol. 99, #4, April 1976.

Data from survey of southern rural counties. Methods used similar to general population except for lower use of employment security and want ads due to location--travel distances, and nongeographically specific newspapers. Effectiveness measures rank direct application and relatives and friends highest. Meaning of effectiveness measures is explored.

209. Rynes, Sara L.; Heneman III, Herbert G.; and Schwab, Donald P., Individual Reactions to Organizational Recruiting: A Review, manuscript prepared for the Employment and Training Adminisistration, U.S. Department of Labor Grant 21-55-78-32, June 1980.

Reviews the research examining the influence of organizational recruiting on applicant attitudes and job choice behavior. Reliance in the literature on college students and graduates makes external validity a concern. Characteristics of recruiting representatives, administrative practices, and evaluation procedures are shown to have important influences on job seeker behavior.

210. Sands, William A., "A Method for Evaluating Alternative Recruiting--Selection Strategies: The CAPER Model," Journal of Applied Psychology, Vol. 57, #3, pp. 222-227.

Description of the Cost of Attaining Personnel Requirements (CAPER) model, designed to provide the personnel manager with the information necessary to minimize the estimated total cost of recruiting, selecting, inducting, and training a sufficient number of persons to meet personnel quotas.

211. Schiller, Bradley, "Job Search Media: Utilization and Effectiveness," Quarterly Review of Economics and Business, 1975, Vol. 15:4.

The amount of time and effort spent searching is an important determinant of search success, confirming view that the flow of information is an important determinant of labor market outcomes. Compares WIN and non-WIN populations relative to search techniques. WIN population exhibites a more intensive search due to program efforts. Author shows that the job search medium is an important variable along with time and effort. Established effective measures are insufficient to analyze and rank the mediums.

212. Schmitt, N., "Social and Situational Determinants of Interview Decisions: Implications for the Employment Interview," Personnel Psychology, 1976, 29, pp. 79-101.

Little evidence exists to bolster confidence concerning the reliability and validity of the interview in the hiring decision. Secondly, the interviewer is a public relations vehicle in that emerging literature indicates a significant impact of the interviewer on the interviewee's perception of the organization and the job offer.

213. Schmitt, Neal, and Coyle, Bryan W., "Applicant Decisions in the Employment Interview," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1976, Vol. 62(2), pp. 184-192.

College graduates interviewing at an university placement center were surveyed concerning interviewer characteristics. Interviewer personality, manner of delivery, and the adequacy of job information were found to affect the applicant's likelihood of job acceptance.

214. Schneider, L. Ronald and Stevens, Nancy D., "Personality Characteristics Associated with Job Seeking Behavior Patterns," Vocational Guidance Quarterly, March 1971, pg. 194.

Assertive and independent search clients found to be more job placement ready than more passive clients. Passivity and dependency require significant amount of career and job search counseling to become ready for placement.

215. Schwab, Donald P., Behavioral Consequences of Job Search and Recruitment Practices: A Review, Manuscript prepared for the Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor Grant 21-55-78-32, Final Report, June 1980.

Overview and summary piece of a three report project to review the literature on the behavioral consequences of search, recruitment, and applicant evaluation procedures. Review is excellent in combining the results of research in several disciplines. Relevant findings include the unreliability of organizational selection devices, the importance of the issue of search intensity, the description of organization evaluation procedures, etc. Three paper series is vital for an understanding of the organization recruitment side of the literature.

216. Schwab, Donald P., Organizational Recruiting and the Decision to Participate, Manuscript prepared for Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Grant 21-55-78-32, June 1980.

Literature review concerned with how organizations obtain new employees and how individuals seek and choose employment. Report is relatively weak on the job search side but the recruitment summary is one of the best available. Of particular worth is the section on employer evaluation of applicants--the discussion of selection criteria.

217. Schwab, Donald P. and Olian, Judy D., From Applicant to Employee: Gatekeeping in Organizations, Manuscript prepared for Employment and Training Administration, U.S. Department of Labor, Grant 21-55-78-32, June 1980.

Indepth review of the literature on how organizations make decisions about job applicants in the hiring decision. Literature on selection devices and procedures is reviewed. Significant is the finding that organizations act on the basis of selection interviews rather than more stringent selection devices. This review coherently discusses the factors influencing the hiring decision.

218. Sexton, Patricia C., "Negro Career Expectations," Merrill-Palmer Quarterly, Vol. 9:4, Oct. 1963, pp. 303-316.

Investigates effects of Detroit schools upon student job aspirations. School personnel found to have little access to current job market information; little knowledge for teaching job search techniques. Difficulty of having role models holding "black jobs" is stressed.

219. Sexton, Patricia C., Education and Income: Inequalities in Our Public Schools (New York: Viking Press, 1961).

Study of Detroit schools finding that schools whose students were lowest in socioeconomic backgrounds were offering the poorest quality of education and were the least suitable for preparing youth for entry into the job market.

220. Shell, Claude I. and Patrick, Floyd A., "Grades Continue to be Stressed by Recruiters," Journal of College Placement, 1973, 33(3), pp. 77-82.

Grades and personality factors shown to be major selection criteria. Recruiters express dislike for the pass/fail system, especially in major fields. Recruiters prefer seeing the whole academic record rather than only relevant fields.

221. Sheppard, Harold L. and Belitsky, A. Harvey, The Job Hunt: Job Seeking Behavior of Uemployed Workers in a Local Economy (Baltimore, Maryland: W. E. Upjohn Institute, Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

A thorough study of a sample of workers drawn from employment service files in Erie, PA, 1963-64. Re-employment success relates to how soon job hunt begins. Direct application is most effective method, with those applying "everywhere and anywhere" being more successful than those applying where "jobs available." Effectiveness of union as method is found to be generally underrated. Unskilled workers found to rely more on friends and relatives than did skilled workers.

222. Singell, Larry, "Some Private and Social Aspects of Juvenile Labor Mobility," Bowling Green State University, Department of Economics, Bowling Green, Ohio.

Detroit high school graduates surveyed. Most job leads provided by friends and relatives with formal methods providing only a small proportion of the total. Infrequent use of the employment service attributable to a perceived poor record for finding jobs for youth and to a large number of the sample not knowing what employment security was or where it was located.

223. Skeels, J. W., "Perspectives on Private Employment Agencies," *Industrial Relations*, 1969, 8, pp. 151-161.
Private employment agencies constitute a highly competitive industry which has survived by adapting its services to a constantly changing labor market.

224. Slater, Robert and Kingsley, Su, "Predicting Age-prejudiced Employers: A British Pilot Study," *Industrial Gerontology*, Spring 1976, pp. 121-128.
The age of the employer is found to give the best prediction of his attitude toward older workers. Young employers have unfavorable attitude, while older employers see older employees in a more favorable light.

225. Stern, James L; Root, Kenneth A., and Hills, Stephen M., "The Influence of Social-Psychological Traits and Job Search Patterns on the Earnings of Workers Affected by a Plant Closure," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*.
Study reinforces idea that government financial assistance to facilitate transfers to new employment may have a far greater payoff than expenditures for retraining. Findings also confirm idea that those using the employment service tend to be the lower quality workers.

226. Stevens, David W., "A Re-examination of What is Known About Jobseeking Behavior in the United States," *Labor Market Intermediaries*, National Commission for Manpower Policy: Special Report #22, Washington, D.C. (March 1978).
An important work which expertly explains the theoretical background of job search theory, re-examines existing empirical studies, and outlines areas in which further research effort should be directed. Stevens' work constitutes an important beginning and ending point for anyone associated with job search training in any capacity.

227. Stevens, David W., "Job Search Techniques: Comparative Indices of Effectiveness," *Quarterly Review of Economics and Business*, 12:2, Summer 1972, pp. 99-103.
Focusing on time and own service inputs in the search process, the author compares the various effectiveness measures existing in the literature.

228. Stevens, David W., *Assisted Job Search for the Insured Unemployed* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: The W. E. Upjohn Institute for Employment Research, 1974).

Explores the conceptual role of the employment service in assisting individuals in job search. Attempts to gauge responsiveness of local employment security offices to changes in its delivery of services. Identifies factors that appear to influence the length of time a claimant remains out of work.

229. Stevens, Nancy D., "Job Seeking Behavior: A Segment of Vocational Development," Journal of Vocational Behavior, 3, (1973), pp. 209-219.

Reports on two companion studies which establish that there is a significant relationship between an individual's personality characteristics and his pattern of job seeking behavior. Tough minded, independent individuals have specified job goals and self-actualized behavior and tend to be highly successful in obtaining jobs. Those who are sensitive and dependent tend to have vague goals and more passive behavior and have less job search success unless aided.

230. Stevens, Nancy D., "Conflict in Job Seeking Behavior," Journal of College Placement, 37:4, Summer 1977, pp. 28-32.

Many students are their own worst enemy in the job hunt. Failing to keep interviews, failing to actively participate in interviews, and being undecided about accepting opportunities once they are offered constitutes defeatist behavior as a job hunter.

231. Stone, Russell; Frake, Larry; and Kaplan, H. Roy, "Variables Affecting Organizations in College Recruiting," The Personnel Administrator, Sept. 1973, 18(5), pp. 43-47.

Survey of business firms recruiting graduating students of a major university as to how size, age, and activities of the organization are related to the type of candidate sought. Strongest recruiting programs in service and sales companies, lowest in R & D. Large firms stress recruiter impressions and opinions, while smaller firms tend to look at grades and course work. Large firms more subject to minority placement quotas. Inability to communicate, wearing a beard, and not being punctual were the most negative factors influencing hiring decision.

232. Strong, C. R., "A Study of Attitudes Toward the Selection of Women Faculty in Collegiate Schools of Business in the Southeastern U.S.A.," Dissertation Abstracts, 1972, 33, 2573-4A.

Evidence of discrimination presented in the hiring of women faculty in university business schools. Women less likely to reach tenure track positions despite similarly strong publication records.

233. Swinth, Robert L., "A Decision Process Model for Predicting Job Preference," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1976, Vol. 61, #2, pp. 242-245.

Job choices predicted by a discrimination net survey--a decision tree format on desirable job attributes--were compared to the applicant's actual job choice. Net survey shown to be a good predictor of employment preferences. May aid in self directed job search or in instructional efforts to train job seekers.

234. Terborg, J. R., and Ilgen, D. R., "A Theoretical Approach to Sex Discrimination in Traditionally Masculine Occupations," Organizational Behavior and Human Performance, 1975, 13, pp. 352-376.

Study of sex discrimination in "masculine occupations" finds employers hired females as frequently as identically qualified males but that the female was offered a significantly lower starting salary. Furthermore, upon hiring females were assigned to routine tasks more frequently than to challenging ones. Salary differentials increased as the years of employment increased.

235. Thompson, Velma M., "Unemployed Aerospace Professionals: Lessons for Programs for Mid-Life Career Redirection," Policy Analysis, 3:3, Summer 1977.

Effective programs for aiding former aerospace professionals in becoming reemployed are shown to have reduced applicant search costs by informing them in detail of what their alternative employment opportunities were like, or by reducing the cost to employers of learning about the retrained applicants.

236. Ullman, Joseph C., "Employee Referrals: Prime Tool for Recruiting Workers," Personnel, 1966, 43(3), pp. 30-35.

Initial findings of Chicago labor market study indicates that tips from satisfactory employees to their friends and relatives are among the best sources of recruitment that a firm can have. Eighty-five percent of the employers said to prefer informal channels and used other methods only when these channels failed. From the employer viewpoint, employee referrals constitute a costless prescreening device.

237. Ullman, Joseph C., "Interfirm Differences in the Cost of Search for Clerical Workers," The Journal of Business, April 1968, pg. 153.

Workers have enough job market information or savy to know which are the high wage companies. The best jobs are most often found through informal channels rather than intermediaries since high wage firms search less, using fewer intermediaries.

238. Ullman, J. C. and Gutleridge, T. G., "The Job Search," Journal of College Placement, 1973, 33(2), pp. 67-72.

Students who collect detailed information on a large number of firms make better career progress, have longer initial job tenure, and express more satisfaction with their job search strategy than do students who collect less information.

239. Ullman, Joseph C. and Huber, George P., "Are Job Banks Improving the Labor Market Information System?" Industrial and Labor Relations Review, Vol. 27, #2, Jan. 1974.
Traces the history of the job bank program. Concludes that local job banks have not met their goals due to organizational problems, poor data handling and retrieval, and harm to disadvantaged clients through reaching wider audiences.

240. Ullman, Joseph C. and Taylor, David P., "The Information System in Changing Labor Markets," Proceeds of Industrial Relations Research Associations, Winter 1965 (IRRA, Madison, Wis.).
Examines the functioning of the information system in the Chicago market for keypunch operators and for unskilled labor. The two markets are of contrasting characteristics and the authors found the information networks to be adaptable to the changing economic condition.

241. Ultrasystems Incorporated, Evaluation and Analysis of the Claff Job Matching System: Final Report (Irvine, CA: for U.S. Department of Labor Contract #B2C 5415: Aug. 1975).
System based on idea that in looking for work, people seek out those activities in which they feel the most comfortable and most likely to succeed. System profiles jobs and seekers on 16 work dimensions grouped into behavioral categories. By self interview, profiles are obtained. System found to indicate potential people/job matches, and to lead to impressive placement rates.

242. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 1961 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Report #3 Employment (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961).
Study of state employment service impact on equal employment opportunity presents evidence that local offices generally are employer oriented, seeing their main concern as that of filling the largest possible number of job orders. Federal nondiscrimination regulations are found to not be applied at the state level.

243. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, Jobseeking Methods Used by American Workers, Bulletin 1886 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975).

A Bureau of Labor Statistics study of how 10,000 workers sought and found jobs. Hierarchy of most frequent search avenues was direct application, friends and relatives, newspapers, state employment service, private employment agency, and miscellaneous. Most frequent job finding sources were direct application, friends and relatives, newspaper, private employment agency, public employment service, and other.

244. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Job Development and Placement: CETA Program Models (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).
An appraisal of job development and placement activities under CETA and recommendations to prime sponsors. Recommends job search training for self-directed job search.

245. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, R & D Monograph 59, The Public Employment Service and Help Wanted Ads (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).
Presentation of the bifocal view of the labor exchange process.

246. Venardos, Marlene G. and Harris, Mary B., "Job Interview Training with Rehabilitation Clients: A Comparison of Videotape and Role Playing Procedures," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 58, #3, pp. 365-367.
Clients in a rehabilitation center were assigned to various treatments designed to improve job interview behavior. Subjects in a videotape-feedback condition and those in a role playing condition improved significantly more than those in the control group.

247. Wagner, R. W., "The Employment Interview: A Critical Survey," Personnel Psychology, 1949, 2, pp. 17-46.
Early review of the literature reports the wide use of the selection interview despite its questionable validity. Reliability shown to be highly specific to both the situation and to the interviewer. The interview is shown most valid when undertaken in a standardized manner. Interview will continue to be used as it satisfies man's need of "seeing a man in the flesh" before making a decision.

248. Walker, Bruce; Lynch, Thomas; and Raanan, Susan, "Approaches to Job Hunting Workshops," Journal of College Placement, Dec. 73/Jan. 74.
College seniors were invited to participate in a workshop involving three components: interview preparation, job hunting techniques, and the importance of starting job search early. Speakers such as recruiters, role playing, sequential search techniques, etc., were employed.

249. Wallace, Phyllis; Kissinger, Beverly; and Reynolds, Betty, Testing of Minority Group Applicants for Employment (Washington, D.C.: Equal Employment Opportunity Commes, Office of Research and Reports: March 1966).

General investigation of the effects of testing on the ability of minority applicants to get jobs. Blacks found to score less well than whites on paper and pencil tests: overlapping distributions.

250. Walsh, John; Johnson, Miriam; and Sugarman, Marged, Help Wanted: Case Studies of Classified Ads (Salt Lake City, Utah: Olympus Publishing Co., 1975).

Summarizes findings of a study in San Francisco and Salt Lake to determine whether classified help wanted ads in newspapers are an accurate reflection of the labor market; and of use to jobseekers.

251. Wanous, John P., "Effects of a Realistic Job Preview on Job Acceptance, Job Attitudes, and Job Survival," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1973, Vol. 58, No. 3, pp. 327-332.

A realistic job preview is associated with higher job survival but the primary effect is felt on initial expectations rather than acceptance. Realistic preview found to be associated with positive attitudes about staying on the job. Want ads are shown to present a distorted view of the labor market, to be important in selected industries, and to be subject to much misinformation and misleading advertising.

252. Wanous, John P., "Organizational Entry: Newcomers Moving From Outside to Inside," Psychological Bulletin, Vol. 84(4), July 1977, pp. 601-608.

Use of realistic job previews in recruitment shows consistent results in reducing the turnover of newcomers.

253. Wegmann, Robert, "Job Search Assistance: A Review," Journal of Employment Counseling, 16 (December 1979): 197-226.

Summarizes both literature and practice related to job search training within employment and training programs and assesses strengths and weaknesses from the vantagepoints of sociology and psychology. Concludes that, despite some weaknesses in concept and practice, job search training is a "robust intervention" which seems to make a substantial difference in job finding experiences in almost any setting despite those weaknesses.

254. Wexley, K. N.; Yukl, G. A.; Kovacks, S. Z.; and Sanders, R. E., "Importance of Contrast Effects in Employment Interviews," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1972, 56, pp. 45-48.

Examines importance of contrast effects in employment interviews. Students watched videotaped interviews and rated applicants in terms of their job qualifications. Contrast effects found statistically significant, but accounted for only a small part of the variance. When average applicant preceded by two highs or two lows, contrast effects accounted for 80 percent of the total variance.

255. Wilcock, Richard C. and Franke, Walter H., Unwanted Workers: Permanent Layoffs and Long Term Unemployment (Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations: University of Illinois; Free Press of Glencoe, Toronto, 1963).

Study of five plant shutdowns in the Midwest during 1958-1959. Despite advanced warning only eight percent of the workers lined up jobs before the plant closed. Before shutdown, the employment service, direct application, and want ads were listed as the intended search methods but after initial search people became reluctant to "pound the pavement." Job search slacked off most quickly in cities with highest rates of unemployment.

256. Wilcock, Richard C. and Sobel, Irvin, Small City Job Markets (University of Illinois, 1958).

Study of plant shutdown in Mt. Vernon, Illinois, and subsequent job search activities of residents in an already depressed economic condition. Heavy reliance on contacts, but little jobfinding since economy depressed at time of shutdown.

257. Wright Jr., O. R., "Summary of Research on the Selection Interview Since 1964," Personnel Psychology, 1969, 22, pp. 391-413.

A review of the literature on the selection interview between 1964-1968. Review is undertaken on a macroanalytic and microanalytic approach. Rapport between interviewer and interviewee established as an important variable in interview success and effectiveness. Interpersonal trust as perceived by interviewee's feelings toward interviewer's expertness, reliability, and activeness shown important in whether job offer is accepted.

258. Zadny, J. J. and James, L. F., "Job Placement in State Vocational Rehabilitation Agencies: A Survey of Technique," Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin, 1979, 22, pp. 361-378.

Agency policy and counselor commitment to placement influence client outcomes. Counselors using informal sources of job information had higher placement rates than those using want ads, the employment service, and civil service bulletins (the majority of counselors were in the second group). Those providing job search training, i.e., resume and interview preparation, recorded higher placements. How counselors handle placement does make a difference.

259. Zehring, J. W., "Rejection Shock," Journal of College Placement, 1975, 35(4), pp. 34-35.

Constantly being turned down in job search may lead to individuals feeling personally rejected and lead them to ignore the real barriers to being hired.

260. Zikmund, W. G.; Hitt, M. A.; and Pickens, B. A., "Influence on Reactions to Job Applicant Resumes," Journal of Applied Psychology, 1978, 63, pp. 252-254.

Study of job applicant resume evaluations where qualifications were constant and the sex of the applicant was the only variable. Males, on average, were found to be evaluated more favorably than females ceteris paribus.

The Commercial Literature

261. Albee, Lou, Job Hunting After Forty (New York: Arco Publishing Co., 1970).

Describes the difficulties associated with job hunting in the case of post-40 year olds. Communicates the frustruations and traumas of the loneliest business--job hunting. Contains an excellent section on getting the entire family involved in the hunt.

262. Bestor, Dorothy K., Aside from Teaching English, What In the World Can You Do? (University of Washington Press, 1977).

Suggestions and guidelines based on employer interviews as to what fields people with English backgrounds can fill. Strategies for job search draw heavily on Bolles.

263. Boll, Carl, Executive Jobs Unlimited (New York: MacMillan, 1965).

Though dated, this book is the "Bible" of the 40-Plus Club. Approach is built around Boll's "Broadcast Letter," a carefully constructed resume of past accomplishments. Jobseeker is encouraged to send out one to two hundred weekly.

264. Bolles, Richard N., What Color Is Your Parachute? (Berkley: Ten Speed Press, 1979).

The most widely read of the commercial books. Suggests first deciding what you want to do and where you want to do it. Then, through research and survey, look in depth at the organization you choose, until you are ready to approach the individual with power to hire.

265. Bolles, Richard N., Tea Leaves, A New Look At Resumes (Berkley: Ten Speed Press, 1976).

Bolles explains that resumes are often a barrier in themselves due to their overemphasis and jobseekers tendency to make them a major part of job search despite statistics on their ineffectiveness. Bolles encourages less use of resumes and turning to his hidden job market methodology.

266. Bolles, Richard N., The Quick Job Hunting Map--A Fast Way To Help (Berkley: Ten Speed Press, 1977).

Contends that traditional job search means are nothing more than a roadblock and should not be included in an individual's search strategy. By self assessment, the development of a good self concept, informational interviewing, and becoming a problem solver, employers will be knocking at your door.

267. Boothe, Anna, Job Hunting That Works (Berkley: Creative Arts Books Co., 1978).

Suggests use of traditional search methods, promises a job within two weeks. Suggest use of resumes in response to newspaper ads. Author makes many errors regarding economic relationships. Offers good advice on interviewing. Overall, book is the easiest and simplest reviewed, with some questionable advice and little insight.

268. Brennan, Lawrence D.; Strand, Stanley; and Gruber, Edward C., Resumes for Better Jobs (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1973).

Extensive look into resume writing, including examples of resumes for some one hundred professions. Gives advice on gathering career data and personal data and molding experience into relevant statements of job description.

269. Chapman, Elwood N., Career Search: A Personal Pursuit (Chicago: Science Research Association, 1976).

Deals with career decision making, ignoring job search techniques. Presents a two-stage process of first, searching for and researching career prospects and second, finding the proper career path. Each phase is presented in the form of 10-20 intermediate steps. Written for high school students.

270. Crystal, John; Bolles, Richard N., Where Do I Go From Here With My Life? (New York: A Continuum Book, Seabury Press, 1974).

Though difficult to read, this book does a superb job of expressing Crystal's process of self discovery and job exploration in printed form. The process includes identifying natural skills and dominant traits, locating the right job, and preparing for interviews so as to effectively present strengths.

271. Dickhut, Harold W.; and Davis, Marvel J., Professional Resume/Job Search Guide (Chicago: Management Counselors, Inc., 1975).

Professes to be "America's Number One Guide to Getting The Right Job" but its only real strength is resume preparation. Job search techniques and interviewing are touched upon only lightly.

272. Djeddah, Eli, Moving Up: How To Get High Salaried Jobs (Berkley, Ten Speed Press, 1978).

Suggests use of all methods, including formal intermediaries, but emphasizes the hidden job market concept. His is a cross between the traditional approach of Greco and the total disregard of intermediaries of Bolles. Emphasis is placed on the jobseeker "knowing himself" and on the resume as a search tool.

273. Donaho, Melvin; and Meyer, John L., How to Get the Job You Want: A Guide to Resumes, Interviews, and Job Hunt Strategy (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976).

Centers on careful preparation of letters of application, the writing of resumes, and preparation for and follow up on employment interviews. Stresses thank you letters, research, and using the interview for information seeking. Includes excellent bibliography of sources of lists for potential employers.

274. Fox, Marcia R., Put Your Degree to Work: A Career Planning and Job Hunting Guide for the New Professional (New York: W. W. Norton, Inc., 1979).

Addressed to audience of graduate students. Stresses importances of choosing the right courses with the right professors as determining your career. Explores value of a mentor, working your way into professional circles, early publication, gaining exposure, and using contacts. Excellent book for use by those to whom it is addressed.

275. Fregly, Bert, How to Get a Job (Homewood, Illinois: ETC Publications, 1974).

Stresses the traditional approach to job hunting. Strong points include its elements of self motivation and its inclusion of self administered chapter quizzes. Lists job sources rather than addressing the "how to" questions.

276. Gaymer, Rosemary, Career Planning and Job Hunting (Toronto, Canada: Maclean-Hunter Limited, 1970).

A common sense guide presented in a dull, uninspiring manner. Lack of motivational aspect makes it difficult to read and enjoy.

277. Greco, B., How to Get the Job That's Right for You (Homewood, Illinois: Dow Jones/Irwin, 1975).

Comes closest to providing labor market information of any of the commercial works reviewed. Stresses importance of seeking employment in growing industries. Advocates use of tradition information networks and intermediaries. Emphasizes the view that the jobseeker rather than the interviewer should conduct the interview.

278. Gilbert, Sara, Ready, Set, Go: How to Find A Career That's Right for You (New York: Four Winds Press, 1979).

Very elementary text serving as only a mediocre guide. Discussion is too simplistic and provides no real information. Perhaps marginally useful for junior high/high school students--nothing more.

279. Haldane, Bernard, How to Make A Habit of Success (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1975).

Contends that by determining one's strengths and selecting roles consistent with strengths, all can get the jobs they want. Emphasizes use of the hidden job market. Another theme is 'Thinking Rich.' Acting the part and becoming the part. A valuable motivational text for the jobseeker.

280. Haldane, Bernard; Haldane, Jean; and Martin, Lowell, Job Power Now: The Young People's Job Finding Guide (Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books, 1976).

An excellent book directed to high school students. Underlines use of Haldane's concepts of the 'job power report' and job cooperatives. Utilizes informational interview procedure and contains excellent section on self assessment.

281. Irish, Richard K., Go Hire Yourself An Employer (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press/Doubleday Press, 1973).

Emphasizes the importance of the interview and gives good strong experienced advice on finding a "judgment job." Well written and highly relevant. Includes process of reviewing past experiences to identify key "flair factors" in personality and communicative resume writing.

282. Irish, Richard K., If Things Don't Improve Soon I May Ask You to Fire Me (Garden City, New York: Doubleday/Anchor Press, 1976).

A growth job is never permanent and so the individual must be willing to take risks and strive to match himself continually to a job that fits him. Teaches the reader to recognize the vital talent, the "flair factor" without which no candidate can succeed in a given job.

283. Jackson, Tom; and Mayleas, Davidoyne, The Hidden Job Market: A System to Beat the System (New York: Quadrangle/New York Times Book Co., 1976).

Self assessment process leads the individual to a job family, a group of occupations, which he or she then prioritizes according to their motivational skills. Stresses building of a support system to keep the job seekers' morale up. Advocated use of the hidden job market concept in connection with a limited reliance on intermediaries.

284. Jackson, Tom, Guerilla Tactics In the Job Market (New York: Bantam Books, 1978).

Presents some 150 tactics (ideas) for winning the employment battle. Emphasis is on developing a support system, using the hidden job market approach and never getting overly discouraged. Undoubtedly the best written of Jackson's books.

285. Lathrop, Richard, Who's Hiring Who (Reston, Virginia: Reston Publishing, 1976).

Strength is in its detailed explanation on resume preparatiion or what the author terms "a qualification brief." Examples are included, along with samples of good cover letters. Presents material in a context of a sound philosophy of job identification and pursuit.

286. Lathrop, Richard, The Job Market (Washington, D.C." National Center for Job Market Studies, 1978).

A scathing attack on the status quo, accusing formal intermediaries of not aiding jobseekers and pinning "ineffinciences" in the job market upon the lack of a nationalized job market. Though his analysis and economics are poor, Lathrop makes the whole argument for job search training and does so without the benefit of data from test programs. This makes it a key book.

287. Levine, Renee, How to Get A Job In Boston (Boston, Massachusetts: East Boston Community Communications, 1979).

A neat little pamphlet dealing with job search in Boston. While including resume samples and tips on interviewing its real value is in its chapter entitled "Boston's Network System: A Tip Book." Included is an extensive list of organizations, agencies, and services hiring, listed by subject matter. A good jumping off point for the Boston jobseeker.

288. Miller, Arthur F.; and Mattson, Ralph T., The Truth About You: Discover What You Should Be Doing With Your Life (Tappan, New Jersey: Fleming H. Revel Co., 1977).

Encourages the individual to discover his design, what God intended him or her to become, by examining his early life to determine the common threads in the experiences viewed as accomplishments by the individual. Determining one's motivational pattern is viewed as the fundamental step in identifying potential, worthwhile jobs.

289. Noer, David, How To Beat the Employment Game (Radnor, PA: Chilton Book Co., 1975).

A most candid and interesting look into the innerworkings of the hiring process. Explains many of the inconsistencies encountered in job search and the inherent conflicts in hiring strategies between line supervisors, personnel officers, and manpower developers. Particularly useful for the job seeker is the discussion of resumes and interviews, including a discussion of the psychological state of the interviewer after a series of successive interviews and how to respond to such a situation.

290. Occupational Outlook Handbook, 1979-80 edition (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1979).

Published every two years, this volume lists key information on major occupations in 35 major industries. Each occupational description includes information on the nature of the work qualifications and training needed, future occupational outlook, earnings, and working conditions, etc.

291. Rust, H. Lee, Jobsearch: The Complete Manual for Jobseekers (New York: American Management Association, 1979).

An excellent volume though the title is deceiving. Written specifically for the unemployed management type, the advice is not universally applicable. Strengths include resume and interview preparation, and use of business associates for leads. Book based on experiences of author while engaged in conducting jobsearch workshops.

292. Salmon, Richard D., The Job Hunter's Guide to Eight Great American Cities (Cambridge, Mass.: Brattle Publications, 1978).

While including brief sections on self analysis, researching, interviewing, etc., this book's great strength is its information on the eight cities (Atlanta, Boston, Denver, Phoenix, Portland, San Diego, San Francisco, and Seattle) vis a vis cost, climate, taxes, entertainment, etc. Includes listing of informational sources in each city, addresses of journals in specialized trades and occupations, and names and addresses of each city's principal employers. Information on the living conditions and characteristics of the cities is listed.

293. Sandman, Peter, The Unabashed Career Guide (New York: Collier, MacMillan, 1969).

The passage of twelve years has seriously dated most of the information in this book, but Sandman's sections presenting models of the range of information that the job-seeker should have gathered before making a career choice are valuable reading.

294. Sweet, Donald H., The Job Hunter's Manual (Reading, PA: Addison-Wesley Publication).

Approach focuses on working within the established system, i.e., use of all sources that can help find a job: including formal channels such as private and public employment agencies. Advice is logical and straight-forward. Institutional barriers such as discrimination and adverse economic conditions are not discussed. Hard work is purported to be the key ingredient; there are no tricks or shortcuts in jobsearch.

295. Thurber, John H. and MacIntyre, Duncan M., Out of Work: A Guide Through Unemployment in New York State (Cornell, NY: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1965).

Beginning with the statement, "So, you're out of work," this pamphlet offers very basic, yet worthwhile advice. The individual is encouraged to find out why he lost his job, to check on recall possibilities, to pound the pavement, to become more socially involved in community activities rather than pulling his neck in, etc. Most importantly this little pamphlet approaches unemployment positively, not slighting the individual. An excellent pamphlet to pass out at the unemployment insurance window.

296. Traxel, Robert, Manager's Guide To Successful Job Hunting (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1978).

Encourages the unemployed manager to concentrate his job search efforts where he has the greatest chance of reward on referrals. Supports hidden job market viewpoint: advocating sidestepping the personnel office, resumes, and applications. Emphasis is on giving the real person in charge a demonstration of your abilities.

297. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Guide to Local Occupational Information (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

Directory of studies, bulletins, and reports intended to provide current local occupational information for use in designing training programs, counseling, and to offer individual job seekers concrete information on occupations.

298. U.S. Department of Labor, Employment and Training Administration, Merchandising Your Job Talents (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1976).

Provides, in brief pamphlet form, an outline of how to carry out a well-planned job search. Step one: Self appraisal--how to decide exactly what you're looking for and the skills you possess. Step Two: Preparing a resume. Step Three: The letter of application. Step Four: Sources of job information. Step Five: Planning your time--you work 40 hours a week for your employer; you should work no less for yourself. Step Six: Job interviewing--the do's and don'ts.

299. Wall Street Journal, "Career Counselors Get Large Fees for Giving Guidance to Graduates," Vol. CI, No. 124,

Statements from career counselors and seminar participants giving the "flavor" of the coaching process, the mixed success of seminar graduates, and the fee range accorded the counselor. The article underscores the viability of and the demand for such services.

300. Weaver, Peter, You, Inc. (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1973).

A self-help book written for the person desiring to go into business for himself. It offers good advice on how to evolve into viable self employment and avoid many of the common pitfalls. The account is objective in that it does not promise instant riches, exposes the risks involved, and tells it like it is.

The Program Literature

Items reviewed included various workshop handouts and official publications. Among these were the following: Job Search Information Training Guide and Merchandising Your Job Talents--publications of the Employment and Training Administration of the U.S. Department of Labor; and various state publications such as Who Gets the Job by the Illinois Job Service and Guide to Preparing A Resume by the New York State Department of Labor.